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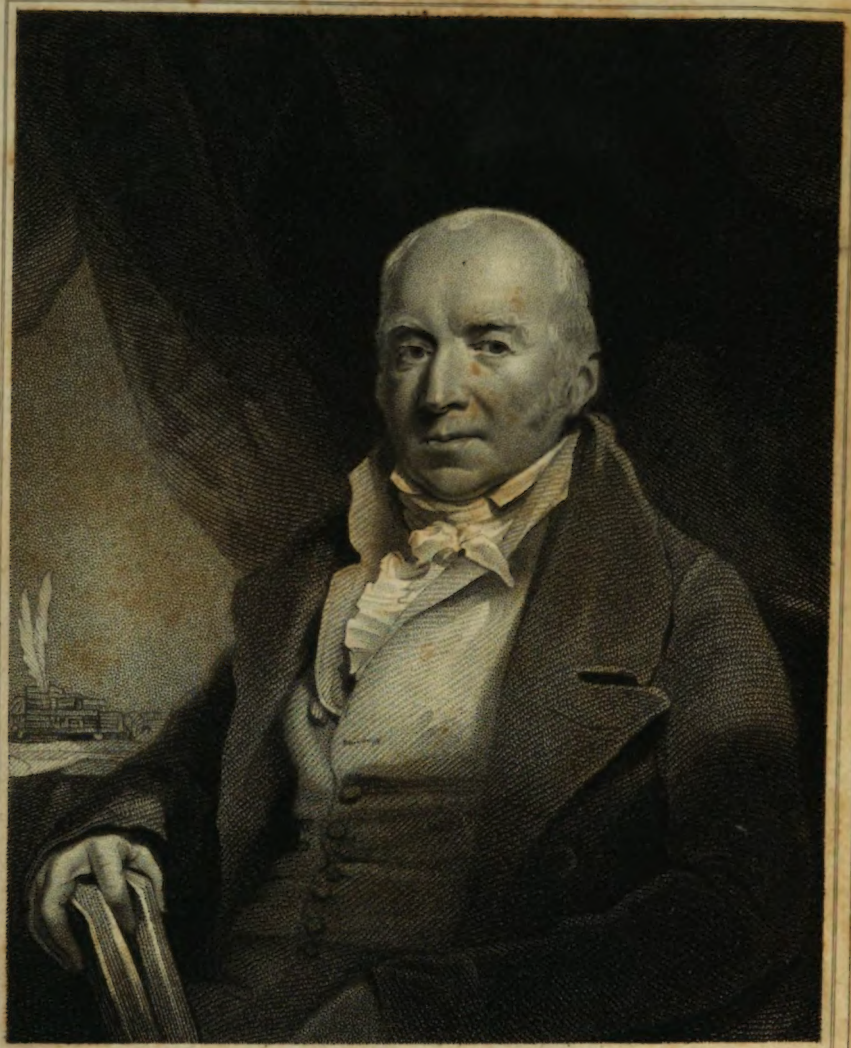

Engraved by R. Cooper, from an original Drawing by J. Jackson.

Sir N. William Wraxall, Bar.t

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HISTORICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

PART THE FIRST,

FROM 1772 TO 1780.

PART THE SECOND,

FROM 1781 TO 1784.

By Sir N. WILLIAM WRAXALL, Bart.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas carptim, ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, Animus liber erat. SALLUST.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

IT is my intention, in continuation of the present Work, to publish the Third Part of these Memoirs, which circumscribes the space of full five Years, from the 25th of March, 1784, down to April, 1789. The last-mentioned Year may be considered, under every aspect, as one of the most important that took place in the course of the Eighteenth Century. First, as in it we witnessed His Majesty's happy Recovery from that great Attack, which involved this Country in temporary Confusion, overturned for a time the Administration, and threatened for ever to bereave us of the Blessings of his Government. Secondly, as having originated, a few Months later, the Calamity of the French Revolution: an Event which may be said to stand pre-eminent for Atrocity in the History of Modern Ages, and which, in its results, has covered Europe with Desolation. The

Year 1789 forms, therefore, a period from which dates a totally new Order of public Affairs; and beyond it I have no design of continuing the Historical Memoirs of my own Time.

N. WILL^M WRAXALL.

LONDON,
2d April, 1815.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

PART THE FIRST.

HAVING long meditated to compose some account of the national events which I have witnessed during a part of my life, I have postponed the publication of the work, till nearly all those persons of whom I must have occasion to speak, were removed from the scene. In fact, with the exception of a very small number of individuals, respecting whom I have been silent; scarcely any of the leading characters now survive, who supported or opposed Lord North, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, or the *Coalition* Administration. The lapse of more than thirty years, has removed every objection of that nature; and the respect that I owe to myself, has impelled

me to dismiss from my mind, before I undertook these Memoirs, every species of bias or partiality. Not that in point of fact, it is possible to speak of recent or contemporary events, as we would write of transactions that took place under Henry the Eighth; nor to contemplate Fox and Pitt with the degree of abstraction and composure, that we regard Marius and Sylla. Such philosophic superiority to passion, whatever pretensions to it may be set up, is not given to man.

Tacitus, who wrote of events recently performed, and who intended, as he himself assures us, if he should attain to old age, to compose the history of his own times; says, "Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano incho-"atam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius "provectam, nunquam abnuerim: sed incor-"ruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, "et sine odio dicendus est." If I might be allowed to parody the words of that historian, applying them to myself, I should say,—"That "I consider George the Third, notwithstand-"ing the many errors of his government, "which were most conspicuous in the begin-"ning of his reign, as one of the best princes "who ever governed this country, I readily

" confess: neither will I deny that I cannot " recall the idea of Lord North, unconnected " with those engaging or elevated qualities " of mind and of deportment, which con- " ciliated the affection even of his opponents. " Lastly, that Lord Sackville honoured me " with his friendship, and shewed me marks " of confidence, I avow with pride and " satisfaction. But, none of these circum- " stances would induce me to conceal or to " misrepresent any fact, for the purpose of " drawing a veil over their errors or poli- " tical transgressions." I may further add, that never having held any employment, under any minister, at any period of my life, I neither can be accused of divulging official secrets; nor am I linked, in how- ever humble a degree, with any of those ephemeral administrations, which took place with such rapidity between 1782 and 1784. I relate the events that I either witnessed, or of which I received the accounts from respectable testimony. How imperfect a light these sources of information enable me to throw on the period of time that I attempt to elucidate, I am fully aware: but, unfortu- nately, those individuals who, from their rank

and situation, know most of the secrets of affairs, will generally divulge least; and even imperfect light is preferable to darkness.

I cannot indeed boast of having enjoyed the same advantage as Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in the "History of his own Time," says, "I have had the honour "to be admitted to much free conversation "with five of our sovereigns, King Charles "the Second, King James the Second, King "William the Third, Queen Mary, and "Queen Anne." But, between 1780 and 1794, during all which period I sat in parliament, I possessed many means and opportunities of knowing various facts, from high authority; and in some instances, of ascertaining their secret causes or springs. Lord *Clarendon* and *Burnet* are almost the only persons of eminence among us, who have commemorated with ability, and at considerable length, the events of their own time. We cannot sufficiently regret that *Prior* did not live to accomplish the same task. That he meditated and intended it, is evident from the words of his Epitaph in Westminster Abbey: —

" *Sui Temporis Historiam meditanti,*
Paulatim obrepens Febris
Operis simul et Vitæ, Filum abrupit.
Sep. 18. An. Dom. 1721."

The work which was actually published under that name, in 1740, contained only some of the materials collected for it. If we consider the official or diplomatic situations that *Prior* occupied from 1690 down to 1714; and the intimate friendship in which he lived with Charles, Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Harley, and Lord Bolingbroke; we must admit that few men could have been more competent to elucidate the Reigns of William the Third, and of Anne.

How much have we to lament that the late Mr. Fox, during his long exclusion from public employment, between 1790 and 1805, while in retirement at St. Anne's Hill, did not occupy himself in composing the History of his own time! Aspiring, as he did, not only to the fame of a statesman and an orator, but to the praise of an historian; how infinitely more valuable a legacy might he have bequeathed to his countrymen, how much more durable a monument might he have erected

to himself, by such an exertion of his talents, than he has done by exhausting his efforts on the reign of James the Second! Not that I would be understood to express any sentiment allied to disrespect, relative to the work which Lord Holland, with pious veneration for his Uncle's memory, has given to the world. Every page of that short and unfinished production, is worthy of its author, and raises him in my estimation. The "Introductory Chapter" can hardly be exceeded for profound reflexion, elucidated by a severe and philosophic cast of thought, as well as by the most accurate and laborious disquisition of facts. Impartial, ardent for freedom, and indignant against tyrants, the writer is nevertheless exempt from the spirit of republicanism. The small portion of James's reign which follows, including Argyle's and Monmouth's invasions, may in a great measure be characterized by similar epithets; and excites regret, from presenting only a fragment. But if, instead of collating Rapin, Hume, and Burnet; or employing his time on the inspection of documents in the *Depôt des Archives* at Paris; he had dedicated it to a delineation, however simple, of the great political scenes in which he had acted so dis-

tinguished a part; with what avidity should we not have perused the work? We might then have beheld as in a mirror, the secret History of the Rockingham, and the *Coalition* administrations, drawn by a master hand, which had propelled the ostensible ministers of the two periods. It was thus that Clarendon beguiled the hours of unmerited disgrace and exile, when he wrote his "History of the great "Rebellion." The Cardinal de Retz, a man to whom Mr. Fox bore some analogy in certain features of his political life, of his character, and fortune; made the best atonement to his country, and to posterity, for the irregularities and agitations which marked the zenith of his career, by tracing with his own hand, in his decline, the outline of those transactions which he had guided or produced. We forget his deviations from prudence, his faction, and his ambition, in the elegance of his genius, and the ingenuous disclosure of his errors.

Perhaps no portion of time in the course of the two last centuries, offers, proportionably to its duration, so few of those interesting anecdotes at which we eagerly grasp, where the Sovereign comes personally forward to our inspection, as the reign of George the Third.

The reason is obvious, and arose out of the King's character. Charles the Second, and Louis the Fourteenth, surrounded by mistresses, and all the dissipation of a Court, presented to Burnet, to Grammont, or to Voltaire, perpetual matter of entertaining recital. Even George the First and Second offered some resources of a similar nature, to Lord Melcomb, for his "Diary;" and to Horace Walpole, for his "Reminiscences." But, His present Majesty's whole life, from the age of twenty-two, down to the lamented period at which he ceased to reign, was passed either in the severe and exemplary discharge of his *public* duties of every description; or in the bosom of his family, amidst *domestic* sources of amusement. In his agricultural occupations, or when engaged in the diversions of the field, he was only seen by the few, who from their official situations or dignity, had access to his person. No splendid assemblies of both sexes, or festive entertainments, to which beauty, rank, and pleasure in a comprehensive sense, must have contributed; by levelling him in some measure with his guests, presented him to view, divested of the forms of royalty. Unlike his predecessor, who even at an advanced age, still preserved a

relish for those enjoyments; George the Third, while a young man, neither frequented masquerades, nor ever engaged at play, nor passed his evenings in society calculated to unbend his mind from the fatigues of business and vexations of state. All the splendour of a court was laid aside, or only exhibited for a few hours, on a birth-day. Rarely, during the first twenty years after his accession, did he join in any scene of public amusement, if we except the diversion of the theatre. Still more rarely did he sit down at table with any of his courtiers or nobility. His repasts, private, short, and temperate, never led to the slightest excess. Hence, his enemies endeavoured to represent him, most unjustly, as affecting the state of an Asiatic prince, scarcely ever visible except on the terrace at Windsor, or in the circle, at a levee. "Junius," who saw him through the most unfavourable medium, and who converted his very virtues, into subjects of accusation, or of reproach; depictures St. James's as a court, "where "prayers are morality, and kneeling is reli-"gion." It was not till a period later than the point of time at which these Memoirs stop, that the King began to mix in a select company, and occasionally to indulge in the plea-

sures of society. Previous to the year 1784, it is only in the foreign or domestic transactions of his reign, often only within the walls of one, or of the other House of Parliament, that the materials can generally be found for writing the internal history of the time. These remarks, I am sensible, apply principally, though not exclusively, to the part of the present work, where the scene lies wholly in England: whereas the first volume traverses the Continent, through different countries, from Portugal, round to Naples and Tuscany.

Soon after I had compleated my twenty-first year, in 1772, I passed over to Portugal; in the capital of which kingdom, or in its vicinity, I staid a considerable time. Joseph, son and successor of John the Fifth, then occupied the throne; but the kingdom was governed by the celebrated Count d'Œyras, who had been recently created Marquis de Pombal. Few first ministers, during the course of the last century, displayed greater talents for administration, or exercised more unlimited authority. The King, though only third in order of descent, was fourth in succession from the Duke of Braganza, denominated John the Fourth, who in 1640 recovered

Portugal from the Spanish dominion; and at the time of which I speak, he had passed his fifty-seventh year. He was of a good stature, but inclined to corpulency: his features regular, his eye quick and lively, if a habit of holding his mouth somewhat open, had not diminished the expression of intelligence, which his countenance would otherwise have conveyed. In his cheeks he had a high scorbutic humour, attributed commonly to excesses of wine; though it might partly arise from violent exercise constantly taken under a burning sun. His face, indeed, was nearly as dusky as that of a Moor; and at Fez or Mequinez, habited in the Turkish dress, with a Turban on his head, he might easily have passed for Muley Ismael, the sovereign of Morocco. Never had any Lusitanian peasant, coarser and darker hands. One could not look at him, without involuntarily recollecting how near are the shores, and how similar are the climates, of Portugal, and of Africa.

Two passions or pursuits, hunting and music, principally occupied his time, absorbed his thoughts, and divided his affections: nor was it easy to decide which of them possessed the strongest ascendant over him. In the former

diversion he passed the far greater part of the day: to the latter amusement his evenings were principally or wholly dedicated, either in public, when at the Opera; or in private, with his family. No royal house in Europe was then so musical as that of Portugal. Joseph himself performed with considerable execution on the violin; and the three Princesses, his daughters, all were proficients in a greater, or in a less degree, on different instruments. If he was prevented by the weather from going out to the chace, the King had recourse for occupation to his Manege. On Sundays he seldom or never missed attending the Italian Opera in Lisbon; but he likewise maintained another Opera at Belem, his residence near the capital. I have been present at this latter performance, to which, only foreign ministers, officers, persons belonging to the Court, and foreigners of condition, were admitted; all of them, gratuitously. The house itself was of very contracted dimensions; the pit not being calculated to contain more than about one hundred and thirty individuals. Boxes, indeed, in the proper acceptation of the term, there were none; the King, Queen, and Royal Family, being seated in a gallery fronting the stage, elevated considerably above

the body of the house. One small box was constructed on each side; that on the right hand being appropriated to the Patriarch, or head of the Portuguese church, whom I have seen present at the performance. The other usually remained vacant, being reserved for any stranger of high rank who might visit Portugal.

The circumstance which distinguished this entertainment from any other of the same kind which I ever witnessed; and which may appear so extraordinary as hardly to obtain credit; consisted in the total exclusion of women, not only from the pit, but from the stage; either as spectators, or as actresses. No female could obtain admission. The reason commonly assigned by the Court, for proscribing the whole sex from any participation in an amusement, of which, in all other European countries, they constitute the principal ornament and the soul; was, that there were no proper places for ladies. But it might have been answered, that nothing could be easier than to construct side-boxes for their reception. Even this reason could not explain their exclusion from the stage, on which none except Italian *Castrati* were ever admitted to sing, or

to perform any part. *Battistini*, who filled with great distinction the first female characters, was selected and engaged, not only for his superior vocal excellence, but for his feminine appearance, and admirable resemblance to a woman, when he was dressed in female attire. So complete indeed was the deception, that I think it never would have occurred to any uninformed person, to doubt for an instant, of his being what he personated. Even the *Ballets* were all performed by men or boys, habited in the Costume of nymphs, shepherdesses, and goddesses. This exclusion of all females, except the Queen and Princesses, rendered the spectacle, though otherwise magnificent in machinery and decorations, as well as scientific in point of musical execution; comparatively insipid, dull, and destitute of interest or animation. Incredible as it may seem, the passion of jealousy constituted the cause of so singular a prohibition. The Queen of Portugal, though at this time she was considerably advanced towards her sixtieth year, yet watched every motion of her husband, with all the vigilant anxiety of a young woman. And in order the better to secure his personal fidelity, she wisely took care to remove from before his eyes, as much

as possible, every temptation to inconstancy. The ladies in waiting, and maids of honour, who attended Their Majesties in public, must certainly have been selected for their want of all attractions; and they were, besides, too far advanced in years, to be longer capable of inspiring any sentiment except respect. The Portugueze females who accompanied Catherine of Braganza in 1662, when she came over to England, in order to espouse Charles the Second, whose total deficiency in personal charms is so eloquently described in the "Memoires de Grammont;" could not possibly exceed in that particular, the attendants on Marianna Victoria, wife of Joseph the First.

Nor was her vigilance by any means confined to the Opera. She displayed the same apprehensions, and took similar precautions, against any rival or intruder in the King's affections, whenever he went out to the chace. Whether the diversion was hunting, or shooting, or falconing, she was constantly at his side. No woman in Europe, indeed, rode bolder, or with more skill. Her figure almost defied the powers of description, on these occasions. She sat astride, as was the universal custom in Portugal, and wore English

leather breeches; frequently black; over which she threw a petticoat, which did not always conceal her legs. A jacket of cloth, or stuff, and a cocked hat, sometimes laced, at other times without ornament, compleated the masculine singularity of her appearance. When, after having let loose the falcon, she followed him with her eye in his flight, she always threw the reins on her horse's neck; allowing him to carry her wherever he pleased, fearless of accidents. She was admitted to be an excellent shot, seldom missing the bird at which she fired, even when flying: but this diversion had nearly produced a most tragical result; as, a few years before I visited Portugal, she very narrowly missed killing the King with a ball, which actually grazed his temple. Few princes in modern times have had more hair-breadth escapes from danger or assassination, than Joseph the First experienced; on which subject I shall have occasion to say much, in the course of these observations.

In the year 1772, the Court of Lisbon offered scarcely any sources of amusement to a foreigner. Neither levees, nor drawing-rooms were ever held, except on birth-days,

and on a few particular festivals. The King, Queen, his brother Don Pedro, his three daughters, and the young Prince of Beyra, lived all under the same roof, and inhabited a long wooden range of apartments at Belem, lower down the bank of the Tagus than Lisbon. The terrors and recollection of the earthquake of 1755, were so deeply impressed on their minds, that they preferred residing in a wooden building, however mean or inconvenient, rather than encounter the perils annexed to a stone edifice. Joseph had never slept under a house, properly so denominated, during near seventeen years. Wherever he moved, either wooden Barracks, or tents, were provided for his accommodation. I have seen tents pitched for his reception, in the fields adjoining the palace of Maffra, while that immense and costly edifice was totally abandoned, neglected, and unfurnished. These precautions, however singular and almost pusillanimous they may at first sight seem, were nevertheless necessary. Experience had fully demonstrated, that the most solid, massy, and well-constructed buildings of stone, only exposed the inhabitant to greater, and more inevitable destruction, in the event of an earthquake; because the re-

sistance made by such materials to the undulation or shock, produced their overthrow. On the contrary, any structure composed of wood, supported like the Barracks inhabited by the Royal Family, on pillars of the same materials; yielding to the concussion of the earth, rocked and waved with the convulsion, thus escaping its worst effects.

No splendor or exhibition of state was maintained by the King of Portugal, who, though he scarcely ever failed to attend, with the Royal Family, every week, at the Bull Feasts, and at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, yet was always understood to be present incognito. The only deviation from this practice or Etiquette, took place when the Court went annually, as was the invariable custom in time of Carnival, about the middle of January, to the Palace of Salva Terra, situated several leagues higher up the Tagus than the Metropolis. The King remained there till the month of March, and all the foreign ministers usually attended him. Hunting parties, to which strangers of condition were admitted, constituted the occupation of the day; followed in the evening by an Opera, like that of Belem, open gratuitously to all such persons as had been presented to the

Sovereign. I was assured that Joseph expended no less a sum than about forty thousand Pounds Sterling annually, on the diversion of the Opera. Yet he was likewise fond of play, and passed much time at the card table. Previous to the memorable earthquake of 1755, he was considered as temperate, drinking usually water at his meals: but such was the effect produced on his mind, and so severe the dejection of spirits which he experienced, after that awful visitation of Providence, that it was apprehended, his health would be seriously affected by it. His physicians prescribed the use of wine, as necessary to restore his constitution; a prescription which proved so agreeable to the patient, that it was commonly believed, His Majesty indulged himself too freely in its use. At an earlier period of his life, he was supposed to have been guilty of excesses of another kind, and to have given the Queen, frequent occasion for jealousy: nor had the partiality of Joseph towards the sex, by any means become extinct, with the decline of years. But, his attachments or amours, were always secret, decorous, and conducted with a becoming regard to public opinion, as well as with a due attention to his domestic and conjugal felicity. No mistress,

like Madame de Pompadour, or Madame du Barry in France, under Louis the Fifteenth; or Madame Chevalier at Petersburgh, under Paul the First, dishonoured and disgraced the court of Portugal.

Joseph, considered in his kingly character and capacity, though not to be ranked among the first princes in vigor and ability, who then reigned in Europe, was not deficient in talents or qualities befitting the throne. If he felt his own inability to govern, he demonstrated no common discernment and force of mind, in the selection of a minister, to whom he delegated that office. The Marquis de Pombal exercised in fact, all the functions of the monarchy. He possessed nearly as unlimited an ascendant over his master, as the Cardinal of Lerma did over Philip the Third, or the Condé d'Olivarez over Philip the Fourth, Kings of Spain; and was accustomed to transact public business, at hours and seasons usually dedicated to pleasure, or lost in sleep. The King very frequently signed papers of the greatest consequence after midnight, before he retired to rest; at which time the Marquis commonly waited on him for the purpose. The superstition which characterized the

house of Braganza, and in the practice of which Joseph himself had been educated; which distinguished his father John the Fifth, and which survived in the present reigning Queen, till she became alienated in mind; by no means existed in him. The seizure and expulsion of the Jesuits, sufficiently manifested his superiority to the bigotted veneration felt for that order of men, among the great majority of his subjects. If he possessed, himself, no taste for the fine arts, nor evinced any passion for learning and polite letters, he at least extended protection to their professors. During the period of two and twenty years that he had then reigned since the decease of John the Fifth, a great and salutary change had taken place among the Portugueze, in all the attainments of a civilized people. Establishments for the education of the young nobility and gentry, had been founded, which would have done honor to Great Britain; and which, though originating with the minister, yet could only have been fully accomplished by the consent of the Sovereign.

These laudable acts of Government, were nevertheless contrasted with corresponding defects of Administration; some of which

might be attributable to the Marquis de Pombal, while others seemed personally to reproach the King. The people universally and loudly complained of oppression. In the royal household, mismanagement prevailed to such a degree, that almost all the domestic servants and menial attendants of the Court, having been unpaid for several years, were in the lowest stage of distress. The reverse had been the case under his predecessor John the Fifth. Joseph's revenues were commonly supposed to amount to two Millions Sterling, while the national expenditure did not usually exceed a moiety of that sum. Yet the footmen who followed the royal carriages in public, were left almost without the means of even procuring sustenance. I never saw the King and Queen in any carriage, except a sort of Caleche, or chaise, drawn by two mules of no uncommon beauty. In this equipage, which was nothing less than royal, they always attended the Bull Feasts. When Her Majesty accompanied the Princesses her daughters, to say Mass, or to perform her devotions, at some church in the vicinity of Lisbon; she was drawn in a coach, with only a pair of horses of a very inferior description, and such a set of harness as we should scarcely con-

sider to be good enough for a hackney-coach. About forty horse-guards accompanied them, and they generally distributed some money to the populace, or rather the beggars, who assembled in groupes at the door of the church.

I went, one day, to look at the royal carriages, kept at Alcantara, about a mile out of Lisbon. There were at least thirty; some of which had cost, as the people assured me, two hundred thousand Crusadoes, or twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. They were very magnificent, and had all been built either in Rome or at Paris. London had not then begun to supply the Continent with that article of luxury. Among the royal carriages, I was struck with the coach in which John the Fourth made his public entry into the capital, after recovering Portugal from the Spaniards. It nearly realized the descriptions given us of those vehicles, soon after their first appearance or invention in the sixteenth century. The carriage in question, which had been constructed in 1641, was, consequently, above a hundred and thirty years old, at the time when I saw it; and might more properly be denominated a chamber on wheels, than a coach in the modern acceptation of the term, as it was capable of containing ten or twelve

persons with the utmost convenience. The sides were open; the windows resembling the lattices of our farm-houses, divided into small panes, with casements for the admission of air. It was preserved with pious veneration, as a monument of the emancipation of the kingdom by the first Prince of the House of Braganza. Henry the Fourth was seated in just such another coach, when he was stabbed by Ravaillac, in the year 1610, in the Rue de la Ferronerie, at Paris.

Joseph the First had twice escaped from a similar fate to that of Henry: the first time in 1758; and the last, only two years before I visited Lisbon. The former attempt, which occupies a memorable place among the tragical events of the eighteenth century, may rank with Damien's attempt on Louis the Fifteenth's life, in 1755; and with the attack made in 1771, on Stanislaus, King of Poland. I allude to the conspiracy of the Duke d'Aveiro, and the Marquis de Tavora in 1758; all the leading particulars of which I have often heard recounted by contemporary witnesses. The Duke d'Aveiro, whose family name was Mascarenhas, descended from Don George, a natural son of John the Second,

King of Portugal, one of the most illustrious Princes who has reigned in modern ages; the contemporary of our Henry the Seventh; and to whose exertions we owe, in an eminent degree, the discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. D'Aveiro's talents appear to have been very moderate, and his courage very equivocal: but his temper, ferocious, as well as vindictive, rendered him capable of embracing the most flagitious measures for the gratification of his revenge. The King of Portugal's escape, which was altogether fortuitous, resulted from the coolness or presence of mind, manifested by the coachman who drove the royal carriage. For, this man, finding that several shots or balls, had passed through it behind; and not doubting that Joseph was wounded; instead of proceeding forward, immediately turned round his mules, and took the road that led to the house of the King's surgeon. By this sudden and unexpected Manœuvre; Joseph avoided falling into the hands of four other armed parties of Conspirators, who were posted at different places, where it was known he must pass in his way to the palace.

A woman, the old Marchioness of Tavora, formed the soul of this sanguinary enterprize,

which conducted the principal persons engaged in it, to a cruel and ignominious death. Revenge, heightened by personal enmity towards the King and the first Minister, who had refused to raise the Marquis of Tavora to the dignity of a Duke; rather than any well ascertained intention, or expectation of subverting the Government, and dethroning the Braganza family; seem to have stimulated the Conspirators to so atrocious an undertaking.

Precisely similar motives impelled the Duke of Orleans to produce those commotions which eventually overturned the French throne, and led to the horrors of the Revolution. It was not ambition, or the hope of reigning, but personal hatred and revenge. The late Duke of Dorset, who, from the situation that he occupied during several years, as Embassador to the Court of Versailles, had opportunities of obtaining the most authentic information, has many times assured me of this fact. He knew it from the Queen herself. She constituted the principal object of the Duke of Orleans's detestation, whose malignity was not so much levelled against Louis the Sixteenth, as against the Queen. That princess had given him many causes of aversion; one of which consisted in endeavouring suc-

cessfully to prevent the marriage of his daughter, Mademoiselle D'Orleans, with the Duke d'Angoulesme. Marie Antoinette wished to unite her own daughter in marriage with the young Prince, as she thereby secured to her the succession to the throne of France, in case that Louis the Sixteenth should not leave behind him any son. The Duke of Dorset told me, that as early as 1786, or 1787, the Queen has said to him, on her seeing the Duke of Orleans at Versailles; "Monsieur le Duc, regardez cette homme "la. Il me deteste, et il a juré ma perte. "Je la vois dans ses yeux, toutes les fois "qu'il me fixe. Il ne sera jamais content, "jusqu'a ce qu'il me voit etendue morte a ses "pieds." He lived, in fact, to witness her tragical end, but he survived her only a very short time. I return from this digression, to the Portugueze conspirators. They executed their attempt, like men destitute of courage: for, if the first band, who intercepted the King, as he was returning from Belem, had fired into the carriage as he advanced, instead of waiting, as they did, till he had passed, before they discharged their pieces, he must have fallen. The ball with which he was wounded, passed between his side and his

arm, tearing the flesh of both, but without inflicting any severe wound.

The consternation excited by the attempt, was augmented by the obscurity in which it was enveloped; the Court remaining some weeks in total ignorance of the authors of the conspiracy; as the Conspirators did, on the other hand, in equal uncertainty, respecting the nature and consequences of the King's wounds. It is a fact, that the Duke d'Aveiro and the Marquis of Tavora repaired almost daily to the King's apartment, to make their enquiries in person after his health; expressing the utmost abhorrence of the treason. They were even admitted to his presence; but, in a chamber intentionally kept so dark, as to render it impossible for them to ascertain the probability of his recovery. Meanwhile, the vigilance of the Marquis de Pombal, aided, as is said, by some imprudent expressions of the Duke d'Aveiro, enabled the Minister to trace, and to ascertain the guilt of the Conspirators. They were then arrested and brought to trial. The Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis of Tavora, and his two sons, were broken on the wheel; while the old Marchioness, who, in consideration of her sex,

was sentenced to be beheaded, ascended the scaffold with a firm step, betrayed neither fear nor contrition, and laid down her head on the block, as she would have done on a pillow.

Haughty and imperious in her character, she was restrained by no considerations of pity or of humanity, when her vengeance, her ambition, or her interest, impelled her. The meetings of the Conspirators were frequently held in a summer house, situate in the garden of the Marquis of Tavora's palace at Lisbon, with which it was connected by a long wooden gallery. It happened that a young Portugueze lady, of noble extraction, but of reduced circumstances, who lived in the Marchioness's family; as her companion; surprized at observing lights, one evening, in this summer house, and altogether without suspicion of the cause; was attracted by curiosity to approach the place. As she advanced along the gallery that led to it, she heard voices in earnest conversation; and on coming nearer, soon distinguished that of the Marchioness, who seemed to be animated by some cause, to a pitch of uncommon violence. She listened for a few seconds; and then, apprehensive of being discovered in

such a situation, she was about to return from whence she came, when the door suddenly opening, the Marchioness herself appeared. Their surprize was mutual; and the latter demanded, with much agitation, what cause had brought her to that place? She answered, that her astonishment at observing lights in the summer house, had led her to ascertain the reason. "You have then, no doubt," said the Marchioness, "overheard our conversation?" The young lady protested that she was perfectly ignorant of any part of it; and that as soon as she distinguished the Marchioness's voice, her respect led her to return to the palace, which she was about to do at the moment when the door opened. But the Marchioness, who had too much at stake to be so easily satisfied or deceived, assuming a tranquil air, and affecting to repose a confidence in her, "The Marquis and I," rejoined she, "have had a serious and a "violent quarrel, during the course of which, "he had the rudeness to contradict me in "the most insulting manner; and he even "carried his audacity to such a point, as to "give me the lie. I burst out of the room, "unable to restrain my indignation, and no

" longer mistress of my emotions. Did you " not hear him give me the lie at the time " I opened the door ?" " I did, Madam," imprudently replied the unfortunate lady. Aware from that instant, that the nature of their meeting, and of the subjects agitated at it, was now in some measure discovered, she instantly determined to prevent the possibility of its being further divulged. Next morning, the body of the unhappy listener was found in one of the streets of Lisbon, wrapt in a sheet, scarcely cold, and the blood still oozing from various wounds inflicted on her with a dagger. It was not doubted at the time, that she had been put to death by secret directions, issued from the palace of Tavora: but the power of that great family, and the frequency of similar spectacles in the Portugueze capital, silenced all judicial enquiry into the causes of her tragical end. The Marchioness expiated her crime on the scaffold. Her daughter-in-law, the young Marchioness of Tavora, alone, who was daughter to the Duke d'Aveiro, exempted from the general destruction of her family, either on account of her presumed innocence, or, as was pretended by others, from motives of private partiality on the part of the King, was immured in a convent. She was, I

believe, still living in 1772, under confinement.

The second attempt made on Joseph's life, arose from the irritated feelings of a poor Portugueze peasant. This man, driven to despair by the conduct of the King's servants, who had forcibly seized on his carts and cattle; rushed furiously on His Majesty, as he was going out to hunt, and aimed a blow, with a long pole, at his head, which narrowly missed him. It happened at the palace of Villa Viciosa, the ancient patrimonial residence of the Dukes of Braganza, where the King used sometimes to repair, for a short time. The peasant was not executed, but still remained, as common rumor asserted, in a dungeon at Belem, when I was in Portugal. Two such attacks, though of very opposite kinds, yet had rendered Joseph timid, and induced him to take many precautions for his preservation against similar efforts of vengeance, or of treason. Even at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, which he scarcely ever failed to attend, yet when he went, as was his custom, between the Acts, from the royal Box in front of the stage, to a side Box, from which he viewed the Ballets; he always passed through a private

passage, well secured, constructed on purpose, with a view to protect his person from any act of violence.

Marianna Victoria, Queen of Portugal, and wife of Joseph, was a daughter of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by Elizabeth Farnese, his second wife, heiress of that celebrated family, and herself a woman of no ordinary talents. The Princess in question had been, as is well known, betrothed, when a child, to Louis the Fifteenth; was sent to France, and resided in that country during several years: but, on the death of the Regent Duke of Orleans, in December, 1723, when the government fell into the hands of the Duke de Bourbon; one of the earliest acts of his administration, was to dissolve the unfinished marriage, and to send the Princess back to Madrid. In the year 1729, when she was not more than eleven, she was carried by her father, Philip, to Badajoz, and married to Joseph, then hereditary Prince of Portugal, who himself had not attained his fourteenth year. The nuptials were immediately solemnized; the bride and bridegroom being put into the same bed together, in presence of the great officers of the court; but it was near six years afterwards, in December

1734, before she brought into the world a daughter, the present Queen. Marianna Victoria was said to have been very agreeable in her person, when young; but in 1772, no traces of that beauty remained. Her figure was short and thick, her face red; her nose large, and her manner destitute of softness or elegance. There was, indeed, nothing feminine in her appearance or demeanour. Nevertheless, her eyes, which were dark, lively, and piercing, retained their original lustre. She wore a profusion of Rouge; her neck and shoulders, whether at Church, at the Opera, or at a Bull Feast, being always bare; and she seemed to be not only in possession of health, but capable of the roughest exercise, or most severe fatigue. Her arms were brown and sun-burnt, from her perpetually following the chace. Those persons who knew Her Majesty well, always assured me that she neither wanted spirit, nor ability, though she never attempted to possess power, nor had ever attained any political influence. All her anxiety seemed to be confined to the person of her royal partner, and did not extend to the guidance of state affairs. If any opinion might be formed of her religion, from her behaviour at Mass, she was assuredly no bigot. I was accustomed to frequent, from

from motives of curiosity, the church of the Necessidadas, and that of St. Francisco da Paola, where she constantly attended, with the Princesses, her daughters; and I may truly assert that I never saw any woman who manifested so little attention while at her devotions.

Of a widely different character from her Mother in that respect, was the Princess of Brazil, Maria, eldest of the three daughters of Joseph, and presumptive Heiress to the Crown of Portugal. In her, a gloomy and severe spirit of superstition formed the predominant feature. Her mind was said to be deeply impressed with the tragical Catastrophe of the Duke d'Aveiro, and his associates, whose fate she was believed to lament, as having been unmerited, or unjust. To her reflections upon those terrible executions, heightened by the remonstrances or reproaches of her Confessor, has been indeed generally attributed the subsequent alienation of her understanding. In her person she was taller than either of her sisters, as well as thinner; of a pale and wan complexion, that seemed to indicate melancholy; her features, prominent, strong, and altogether destitute of any attrac-

tions. In all the duties and departments of private life, she was exemplary. Married to her Uncle, only brother to the King, they exhibited a model of nuptial felicity. The union, however repugnant to our modes of thinking, and in some measure contrary to nature, yet had been fruitful; they had then two sons and a daughter living. The desire of preventing any possibility of a disputed succession, between the collateral male heir to the throne, and the female in direct descent, dictated this species of incestuous marriage; which, whatever sanction it may derive from antiquity, among the Ptolemies, or the Seleucidæ, can plead no parallel among the other royal houses of Europe. It is not the least singular circumstance of the transaction, that so far from any compulsion having been used to accomplish it, the Princess, from her early youth, entertained a strong partiality and attachment towards Don Pedro, her future Husband. She was near thirty-eight years old, when I visited Portugal.

All the talents of the female part of the Braganza Family, were said to be concentrated in Donna Maria Anna, second of Joseph's daughters. Shorter and thicker in her person

than the Princess of Brazil, she was more agreeable in her countenance; possessing a ruddy complexion, as well as a more animated expression of features. Her mind was expanded, and her understanding cultivated by polite knowledge. Many of her hours were dedicated to reading, and she was regarded as superior to bigotry. In addition to these solid endowments, she joined great taste and skill in Music, with a fine voice. Though the most accomplished of the three sisters, she was nevertheless doomed to remain unmarried in her father's court, having attained, in 1772, her thirty-sixth year. Nature had been in some respects more bountiful to the third Princess, Donna Maria Benedicta, who was likewise considerably younger, being only six and twenty years old at this time. Though low in stature, clumsy, and much inclined to Embonpoint, her face was very handsome; her eyes dark and eloquent, her complexion fair, the contour of her countenance rather round than oval, and her features small, as well as delicate. But she was not considered to possess the superiority of mind that distinguished Maria Anna. About seven years before the time of which I speak, a treaty of marriage had been set on foot be-

tween this Princess and the Emperor Joseph the Second, who was then recently become a widower, by the death of his first wife. It proceeded so far, that preparations were made for transporting her from Lisbon to Flanders, in her way to Vienna; and a ship, constructed expressly for the purpose, in the Brazils, magnificently decorated, lay ready in the Tagus. But, the intrigues and exertions of the old Queen Dowager of Spain, mother of Charles the Third, and grandmother of the Princess herself, who was incensed at the endeavours of the Marquis de Pombal, to assume the exclusive merit of this alliance, rendered the plan abortive. It is probable, and I have been so assured at Vienna, that the pretext used to indispose the Austrian court from accomplishing the projected nuptials, was the representation made of the improbability of her producing children, on account of her tendency to become large and fat. Incredible and unnatural as it may seem, she was actually married, several years afterwards, in 1777, when turned of thirty years of age, to her own nephew, her sister's son, the young Prince of Beira, eventual heir to the Throne of Portugal. The ceremony was performed in Joseph's apartments, as he lay expiring. They lived to-

gether many years, but never had any issue. There seems to have been no rational excuse, or adequate motive assigned, for this second union in the same family, which impresses with a degree of horror, or, at least, of disgust; and was the more remarkable, as the Portugueze women of condition seldom bear children, if not married before twenty-eight or thirty. Catherine of Portugal, daughter of John the Fourth, who was the wife of our Charles the Second, and who espoused him at an earlier age, I believe about twenty-four, never brought him any issue, male or female; but Burnet says, that the King himself told him, (Dr. Burnet) that "she had been with child." She even once miscarried, when considerably advanced in her pregnancy, if we may believe the same historical authority: but, as Charles had no fewer, it is asserted, I think by Dr. Lucas, in his History of England, than fifty-three natural children, by different mistresses, in the course of his life; we must suppose that his failure of legitimate issue, originated on the side of his Queen. Some excuse may be suggested for the marriage of the eldest daughter of Joseph, with his brother, Don Pedro, where there existed no direct male issue to inherit the crown; but it was

reserved for the family of Braganza to exhibit to mankind, in the eighteenth century, the extraordinary spectacle of a youth of fifteen, espousing his own aunt, at thirty. From such a connexion, it can neither excite surprise nor regret, that no descendants should have sprung.

The Prince of Beyra, himself, eldest son of the Princess of Brazil and of Don Pedro, was then the *Marcellus* of Portugal; towards whom all eyes were turned, and from whose future auspicious Government, political miracles were fondly anticipated. It may excite the more surprize that such expectations should have been entertained, when I add that in 1772, he had only completed the eleventh year of his age. I have seen him many times, as he never failed to attend the Royal family in public, at the Bull Feasts, at Church, and every where except at the Italian Opera; a diversion for which he manifested a decided aversion. He was tall and manly for his age, though his face was pale and delicate; and he appeared to have a weak or defective sight. His features and his expression of countenance, it must be admitted, indicated intelligence. The stories related of his

capacity and dawning expansion of mind, had obtained a very universal credit. Some well attested instances of the goodness of his disposition, and the liberality of his temper, I have heard, which seemd to be entitled to belief: but, no sort of inference, as to his future character, could be safely drawn from these tales. Joseph the First, during the reign of his father, had excited similar expectations, which he by no means fulfilled after he ascended the throne. His grandson, who was likewise named Joseph, died at about twenty-seven years of age, in 1788, of the small-pox, which the bigotted prejudices and ignorance of his mother, had prevented her from giving him by inoculation; leaving, as I before observed, no issue by his aunt, to whom he had been married during several years.

With Don Pedro, father and great uncle to the Prince of Beyra, I shall conclude my remarks on the Royal House of Portugal. He was several years younger than the King; not inclined, like Joseph, to corpulency; of a sallow complexion; equally destitute in his person, as in his manners, of elegance, or grace; and no way distinguished by natural endowments of any kind. He excelled in no exercises of the body; and possessed in

his features no expression of intellect. His faculties were, indeed, very contracted, and altogether unfit for the conduct of public affairs. Possessing neither political power nor influence, he could only be considered as a fixture of the Court; and never was any Prince a more perfect cypher. He enjoyed no command, military or civil; not even a separate establishment or household. When the King hunted, Don Pedro accompanied him; as he equally did to the Opera, or to Mass; never absenting himself, except on account of indisposition. He had constructed a palace at Cayluze, about six English miles from Lisbon; but Don Pedro never resided there, though he frequently attended his brother to the chace; commony alighting, for a few minutes, in order to hear Mass at Cayluze. Those who knew him intimately, assured me that he was of a devout, friendly, and benevolent disposition. On Joseph's decease, in February, 1777, when his consort became Queen in her own right, he was made King matrimonial, by the name of Don Pedro the Third; as Henry, Lord Darnley, became in Scotland, on his marriage with Mary Stuart. He survived his elder brother above nine years, dying in May, 1786.

The public entertainment or exhibition which then distinguished Lisbon from all other capitals of Europe, was the celebration of Bull Feasts. They were held every Sunday, during the Summer and Autumn. I have been present at many of them. However barbarous the diversion might justly be esteemed, it is the only one that I ever witnessed, which could be said to realize in some measure, the Amphitheatrical games of antient Rome, exhibited in the Circus. They were already extinct in Spain, where Charles the Third had abolished them, on his ascending the throne in 1759. Joseph, and the Queen his wife, on the contrary, nourished the strongest partiality, or rather decided passion, for these games of Moresco origin; which they never failed to attend, unless prevented by illness. I have seen the King there, though one of his eyes was swelled and bandaged; caused by the effect of a spark that had flown into it from the flint of his fowling piece, when firing it at the chace. Those persons who have formed their ideas of Bull Feasts, from the entertaining descriptions of the Countess d'Aubnoi, which she has enlivened by amorous, as well as by tragical adventures;

and which were written at Madrid, under the reign of Charles the Second, last Prince of the Austrian line, in 1679 and 1680; would have esteemed the diversion tame, as it was exhibited at Lisbon, before Joseph the First. Yet was it not altogether divested of something that reminded me of the Tournaments and exercises of Chivalry, with which our imaginations are so warmly impressed in youth. The Portugueze Bull Feasts were celebrated in a large wooden Amphitheatre, capable of commodiously containing many thousand persons; surrounded with benches below, to a considerable height, which were surmounted by tiers of boxes. The *Arena* was very ample and spacious. When the Champion, who was about to engage the Bulls, gaily dressed, mounted on a spirited horse, a spear in his hand, appeared upon the ground, and saluted the Corporation of Lisbon, as was the custom, the effect of the Spectacle is not easy to describe in adequate terms. From sixteen to twenty Bulls were regularly sacrificed every Sunday; and though circular pieces of leather were fastened on their horns, in order to prevent their ripping up or mortally wounding the combatants, yet I have witnessed many very severe,

and several nearly fatal accidents. Prodigious dexterity, vigor, and address, were displayed by some of the horsemen; particularly by a Castilian, who generally made his appearance, and whom I have often seen drive his spear, at the first thrust, direct into the Bull's heart, when the animal was running furiously at him. The Amphitheatre then rang with applauses.

It frequently happened, that the Bulls wanted spirit or inclination for the contest. In those cases, the Spectacle became rather a butchery, than a combat, or an amusement: but some of them would not have disgraced a Roman Amphitheatre, if, (as I have been assured was customary a century earlier); their horns, instead of being blunted or covered, had been filed and sharpened to a point. Several of the men who fought on foot, exhibited extraordinary agility and coolness, in eluding the rage of the incensed animal; but it must at the same time be remembered, that they were commonly six or seven combined, all armed with long spears. I have seen women engage the bulls, ride up, and wound him. Two in particular, who were *Dancerinas*, or Posture-girls; one a Venetian,

the other a Spaniard, habited as men, and sitting astride, possessed great firmness, and excited general admiration. Sometimes the Bulls were furnished by the Court. I have beheld twenty killed in the course of three hours; eight of which were given by the King, as many more by Don Pedro his brother, two by the Duke de Cadaval, and two, (however singular it may seem,) by the Patriarch of Lisbon. After having witnessed several of these Exhibitions, I confess that I became disgusted with them. The most interesting part consisted in the assemblage of spectators, particularly Ladies, who filled the Boxes. Even the seats in the Pit, were generally crowded with females. The Queen, and her three daughters, never failed to attend in the Royal Box; though they were considered to be there Incognito. However barbarous the diversion must be regarded, it always reminded me of Milton's description of the entertainments,

> "Where throngs of Knights and Barons bold,
> In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold;
> With store of Ladies, whose bright eyes
> Rain influence, and judge the Prize."

As soon as the Bull Feast ended, which

was commonly about six o'clock, the King, Queen, and Royal family immediately repaired to the Italian Opera, which was at a very inconsiderable distance, in the same quarter of Lisbon. Such was the invariable Usage or Etiquette, every Sunday. Yet, there, as at the Bull Feast, though seated in the front of the Theatre, they were supposed to preserve their Incognito. Joseph's dress, on these occasions, was always a full-trimmed suit of silk, or of cloth; either quite plain, or embroidered with white silk; the sumptuary laws of Portugal prohibiting embroidery of gold or silver. He wore a flowing tye-wig, as we see George the Second represented in his portraits; and the Portugueze Order of Christ, on his breast. The Queen and Princesses were covered with diamonds; in particular, the Princess of Brazil: but the Queen alone wore Rouge, from the use of which her daughters abstained. During the course of the performance, His Majesty never failed to go round to his private Box, close to the Stage, in order to view the Ballets, after each of which he returned to the Royal family. On these little excursions, which he always seemed to enjoy, and during which he generally made the best use of his time, with

his Opera glass, in contemplating the female part of the audience who filled the side Boxes, several Noblemen accompanied him. The Count de Prado alone possessed the privilege of being seated, when with the Sovereign; a mark of distinguished regard and predilection. To him, Joseph appeared to communicate all his confidential discourse, while the other individuals in attendance, remained standing behind him. Even the Duke de Cadaval, though the sole person of that high rank in the kingdom of Portugal; there being no other since the extinction of the Dukedom of Aveiro; yet was never permitted to sit down, in company with the King. After the Count de Prado, the two Counts of Cantineida, and of Arcos, both sons of the Marquis de Marialva, whose name always brought Gil Blas before my imagination; enjoyed, in 1772, the highest place in Joseph's personal favor. The former, I mean the Count de Cantineida, was the only Nobleman in the kingdom, allowed by a special grace of the Crown, to drive in a coach and six, with which equipage the King himself had presented him.

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The memorable Earthquake of the 1st of

November, 1755, had impressed on almost every part of Lisbon, the most awful traces of its existence and ravages, at the time when I visited that capital. Many edifices still remained exactly in the condition that they were left; presenting such scenes of devastation and destruction, as would have been vainly sought for elsewhere. Among them, the antient palace of the Dukes of Braganza, which was built on a commanding eminence, in the center of the Metropolis; and the Cathedral of Lisbon, stood conspicuous. Both these majestic structures hourly threatened to crush the tenant, or the devotee, who ventured to enter them. Yet the former pile was inhabited by various families or individuals, who sought shelter under the tottering roof; and superstition or devotion had consecrated chapels in the latter, amidst the ruins of altars and domes, where Masses were daily celebrated. I was peculiarly led to visit the Cathedral, by the hope of finding the tomb of Camöens, the celebrated Portugueze poet, whose body, as I had been assured, was there interred. But I could discover no proofs of any such interment, though I made every inquiry; and I have reason to believe, after all the researches in my power, that as he unquestionably expired in

a public hospital, of a disease which, from its contagious nature, resembled the plague, he was thrown into a common grave, with a number of other dead bodies. It is certain that no monument was ever erected to his memory.

A striking, and a melancholy conformity exists, between the destiny of the two most illustrious men of genius, whom Spain and Portugal have produced in modern ages. I mean, Cervantes, and Camöens: a conformity which reflects no honor on those countries, or on the sovereigns and Ministers, who thus abandoned them to the rigors of adversity. Both served on the expeditions undertaken against the Mahometans, in the capacity of private soldiers; and both were wounded. Camöens lost an eye, before the town of Ceuta in Morocco; and Cervantes lost his left hand, at the celebrated naval battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria in 1571, over the Turks. Each of them underwent captivity, shipwreck, and all the calamities of adverse fortune. Returning to their native country, both were admired, and deserted. John the Third, and Sebastian, Kings of Portugal, seem to have done as little for Camöens, as Philip the Second and Third, the Sovereigns of Spain, did

for Cervantes. Each of them attained to an advanced age, amidst the pressure of diseases, penury, and privations. Camöens breathed his last at Lisbon, in 1579, at about sixty-two years of age, in an Hospital; reproaching his countrymen, as is asserted, for their cruel neglect. Cervantes, worn out by the progress of a dropsy, rendered more severe by want, preserved his constitutional gaiety of disposition to the last moments of his existence; expired, it may be almost said, with the pen in his hand; and seemed to triumph over dissolution, by the elasticity and energy of his mind. He died at Madrid, in 1616; a year which likewise deprived the world of Shakespear! The author of the "Lusiad," and the writer of "Don Quixote," were both thrown into the ground, without even the decencies of an ordinary funeral; nor can the spot where either of their remains are deposited, be even ascertained at the present time. It is impossible to consider these facts, without emotions of mingled concern and indignation. Yet, Spenser, Otway, and Chatterton, among us, appear to have experienced no milder a fate.

If I could not discover the place of

Camöens's interment, I at least found out the grave and tombstone of the author of "Tom Jones." Fielding, who terminated his life, as is well known, at Lisbon, in 1754, of a complication of disorders, at little more than forty seven years of age, lies buried in the Cimetery appropriated to the English Factory. I visited his grave, which was already nearly concealed by weeds and nettles. Though he did not suffer the extremity of distress under which Camöens and Cervantes terminated their lives; yet his extravagance, a quality so commonly characteristic of men distinguished by talents, embittered the evening of his days. Fielding, Richardson, and Le Sage, seem to have attained the highest eminence in that seductive species of composition, unknown to antiquity, which we denominate *Novels*. Crebillon, Marivaux, and Smollett, only occupy the second place. Voltaire and Rousseau are rather satirical or philosophical moralists, than Novellists. "Don Quixote" is a work *sui generis*, and not amenable to ordinary rules. "Gil Blas" seems to stand alone, and will probably be read with avidity in every age, and every country. Though the scene lies in Spain, and the characters are Spaniards, the manners are

universal; and true to nature equally in Madrid, in Paris, or in London. Richardson and Fielding are more national, and cannot be read with the same delight on the banks of the Seyne, or the Tyber, as on those of the Thames; though the former writer transports us to Bologna, in his *Sir Charles Grandison*. Fielding never attempts to carry us out of England, and his actors are all Aborigines. Foreigners neither can taste his works, nor will he ever attain to the fame of Richardson, beyond the limits of his own country. *Clementina* and *Clarissa* will penetrate, where *Sophia Western* and *Parson Adams* never can be known. *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia* are, in point of composition, to Fielding, what *Pamela* is to Richardson.

The late Alderman Cadell, who was one of the most intelligent, honourable, and superior men of his profession; told me that his predecessor, *Millar*, the Bookseller, bought Fielding's *Amelia* of the author; giving him for the Copy right, eight hundred Pounds; a great sum at that time. After making the purchase, Millar shewed the Manuscript to Sir Andrew Mitchell, who subsequently filled the post of British Minister at Berlin; requesting

to have his opinion of the work. Sir Andrew observed, to him, that it bore the indelible marks of Fielding's genius, and was a fine performance ; but, nevertheless, far beneath " Tom Jones ;" finally advising him to get rid of it as soon as he could. *Millar* did not neglect the counsel, though he was too able a man to divulge the opinion delivered by his friend. On the contrary, at the first sale which he made to *the Trade*, he said, " Gentlemen, I have several works to put " up, for which I shall be glad if you will " bid: but, as to *Amelia*, every Copy is already " bespoke." This Manœuvre had its effect. All the Booksellers were anxious to get their names put down for copies of it, and the edition, though very large, was immediately sold.

All the most interesting particulars of the Earthquake of 1755, have been recounted to me by many of those persons who shared in, and survived the horrors of that calamitous day, on which near forty thousand persons were believed to have perished. They agreed, that if it had taken place in the middle of the night, when the fires were in general extinguished, and when the darkness would have

prevented the greater part of the inhabitants from quitting their houses before day-break; not a fourth part of the lives would have been lost, nor destruction have followed. Prodigious numbers were swept off from the Quays, by the sudden rise of the Tagus; and the conflagration which succeeded the Earthquake, spread even greater devastation than did that convulsion of nature. The first shock, which came on about forty minutes after nine in the morning, seemed to be horizontal in its direction or movement: but the second shock was perpendicular or vertical; throwing up the pavement of the streets to the heighth of forty and fifty feet into the air. Near an hour intervened between the two concussions. The King, Queen, and Royal Family, by good fortune, were not at the palace in Lisbon, but at Belem, which stands near two miles lower down, on the same side of the river. As the apartments which they inhabited, were all built on the ground, His Majesty leaped out of the window of his chamber, into the garden, on first perceiving the shock; while the three Princesses, his daughters, who were either not yet risen, or not dressed, followed him, wrapped in the bed-clothes.

Lisbon has, in all ages, been subject to the awful visitation and ravages of Earthquakes. History commemorates several, during the lapse of the last six Centuries, which have successively laid that Capital in ruins, and buried or ingulphed a large part of the population. The most destructive in modern times, previous to 1755, happened in February, 1522, soon after the decease of Emanuel, in the first year of the reign of his son, John the Third. The concussions of the earth then lasted during eight days; but do not appear to have produced a conflagration as ruinous or extensive, as that which took place under Joseph; though more than fifteen hundred houses, besides churches, palaces, and public edifices of every kind, were destroyed. Thirty thousand persons perished in Lisbon alone; while Santarem, Almerin, and many other places, were swallowed up, together with their inhabitants. John the Third, his Queen, and the royal family, were compelled to encamp in the fields, under tents, just as Joseph did in November, 1755. Great as these convulsions of Nature were, they may nevertheless be esteemed slight, both in their extent and in their effects, if compared with

those which desolated Calabria, in more recent periods, as late as the year 1783.

It is evident that the Earthquake of 1755, ran in a kind of vein, principally ravaging a circle or space of about four to five miles; which was reduced to a state of desolation, by the fire that followed it. The "Alfama," or ancient Moorish city, situate higher up the river, as well as the Suburb of Belem, lower down the Tagus; though both may be said to form a part of Lisbon, nearly as Wapping and Westminster constitute portions of London; yet received, comparatively, little injury. The principal edifices, and even the houses in both, remained, if not unshaken, yet undemolished. In 1772, rather more than half the space originally laid waste by the Earthquake and fire, had been rebuilt. Some of the new streets might even vie in regularity and magnificence, with those of any Capital in Europe; forming an astonishing contrast with the filth, antiquity, and barbarism, characteristic of the Eastern extremity, or "Alfama."

The family of Braganza has not produced, even down to the present time, any Sovereign endowed with talents such as distinguished

the two Kings, John the Second, and Emanuel, who reigned over the Portugueze in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries. John the Fourth himself, founder of the Braganza line, though he effected the recovery of their national independence, seemed to be in no degree qualified by nature, for the performance of so perilous a task. Gustavus Vasa, who expelled the tyrant Christian the Second, from Sweden; Henry the Fourth, who crushed "the League" in France; William the First, and William the Third, Princes of Orange, who successively liberated the Dutch; the former, from the yoke of Spain, and the latter, from the arms of Louis the XIVth; — all these were superior men, endowed with energies such as Providence confers on heroes. But, the Duke of Braganza was an ordinary individual, whose abilities were of the most moderate description: even his personal courage was never proved in the Field. It was the heroic spirit of his Consort, which supplying these defects, impelled him to sieze the Crown, that the weakness and incapacity of the Spanish Government might be said to tender him. She was, herself, by birth a Spaniard, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; her name, Louisa de Guzman. After the decease of the King, her husband, in

1656, she continued to act as Regent. John the Fourth left two sons, the eldest of whom, Alphonso the Sixth, was only thirteen years of age. Labouring from his infancy under incurable maladies, or debilities of body and of mind, he appears to have been altogether unfit to exercise the duties or functions of Sovereign Power. While his mother held the reins of State, Alphonso's incapacity, and acts of violence or of imbecility, were prevented from exciting any national commotions of a serious nature: but after the retreat and decease of that illustrious Princess in 1666, his deposition speedily followed. It was merited by his excesses, and utter inaptitude for Government. His own wife, a Princess of the House of Nemours, to whom he had been recently married, but with whom he had never been able to consummate his nuptials; combining with Don Pedro, his younger brother, a Prince of prudence, energy, and ability; arrested and deposed Alphonso. In performing this Revolutionary act, they were only the agents and instruments of the Nation, who unanimously demanded, sanctioned, and maintained it.

Don Pedro, thus called to the supreme au-

thority by the voice of the Portugueze, at twenty years of age, in 1668, did not, however, assume the title of King. Like the present Prince Regent, he contented himself with that denomination; but he married Mary of Nemours, his brother's wife, as Henry the Eighth of England had espoused Catherine of Arragon. Till the death of Alphonso, which took place seventeen years later, in 1683, Pedro only exercised the Regency. Alphonso was first sent to the Azores, or Western Islands; where he resided for some years, at Terceira, in an honorable restraint. It was afterwards judged expedient to conduct him back to Portugal, and to confine him in one of the royal palaces, at Cintra; a village not remote from Lisbon, situate towards the mouth of the Tagus, in a country abounding with natural beauties of every kind, which render it one of the most delicious and enchanting spots in Europe. At a more recent period, Cintra has attained a melancholy celebrity, from the Convention there concluded with the French, in 1808. In the palace at that place, I visited the apartment in which Alphonso was imprisoned, and where he ended his days. Though become somewhat ruinous in 1772, it was tolerably spacious, being about twenty feet square, and proportionably lofty. He passed eleven years

as a captive in that chamber. Towards the latter part of his life, his understanding, naturally very weak, became wholly alienated. He grew furious to such a degree, that it was found necessary to confine him by an iron rail, which surrounded his bed, and allowed him only a space of about fourteen to sixteen feet, for exercise. The bricks, of which the floor was composed, were worn away in this track, by the constant action of his feet. His death, however, as far as we can assert, or are warranted to conjecture, was not accelerated by any act of violence. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that Alphonso terminated his unfortunate life, on the 12th of December, 1683; and that his former wife, Mary of Nemours, who was married to his younger brother, Don Pedro, died on the 17th of the same month and year, leaving no issue by that Prince.

Pedro the Second, who continued to reign down to the commencement of the last Century, in 1706; was unquestionably the most able of the Sovereigns that have governed Portugal, from 1640 to the present time. John the Fifth, his son and successor, seems to have been a man of very moderate endowments:

fond of show, but destitute of taste; of a narrow mind, and enslaved by bigotry. He expended forty-five Millions of Crusadoes, or near four Millions Sterling, in the erection of a Palace at Maffra, about five leagues north of Cintra, and not far removed from the shore of the Atlantic. It formed a monument of royal prodigality, blended with superstition. Who can believe, that in the last Century, any Prince would construct a residence in imitation or emulation of the Escurial of Philip the Second of Spain? John did not, indeed, like Philip, build the Palace of Maffra, in the form of a gridiron; but he united in one edifice, precisely as that King had done, a Palace, a Church, and a Convent. The church occupied the centre of the building; contiguous to it being placed the Cloisters; together with the cells, or apartments of the Monks. Three hundred Franciscan Friars, a Monastic order distinguished for the disgusting filth of their dress and appearance, were there stationed. They had even an hospital in the central part of the edifice, for the diseased and infirm members of the Fraternity. One of the first acts of Joseph's reign was to dislodge these religious nuisances; and when I visited Maffra, they had been replaced by

secular priests, fewer in number. The palace, dismantled, forsaken, and forming altogether an appendage to the Convent, extended in two wings, or either side, and behind the church: but it had no gardens, nor pleasure grounds of any kind. Such was Maffra, the Versailles of Portugal; placed, like that palace, in a situation little favoured by nature! John the Fifth expended more beneficially the treasures of the state, in constructing the Aqueduct of Alcantra, scarcely a mile out of Lisbon, which supplies the capital, in a great measure, with water. In solidity and grandeur, it is a work worthy of ancient Rome: crossing a deep valley or Ravine, from one mountain to another, on arches; the central one of which is three hundred feet in height, and ninety in breadth. The Earthquake of 1755, spared this monument of national utility, which received little injury from that shock; and the construction of which reconciled me in some measure, to the Sovereign by whom it was raised.

The reign of Joseph may be more properly denominated the Administration of the Condé de Oeyras, created afterwards Marquis de Pombal, than it can be characterized by any other description. The name of this

Minister was Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. His birth, noble, but not illustrious, would never have opened him a way to power, if it had not been aided by extraordinary talents. Maria Anna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold the First, and Queen of John the Fifth, recommended him to her son Joseph; who, on his accession to the throne in 1750, named Carvalho, Secretary for foreign affairs. His own abilities achieved the rest. On him Joseph seemed to have devolved the exclusive and absolute Government of the State, nor was he unworthy of that selection. At the time that I saw him, he had attained his seventy-third year; but age appeared neither to have diminished the vigor, freshness, nor activity of his faculties. In his person he was very tall and slender; his face long, pale, meagre, and full of intelligence. He was so unpopular, and so many attempts had been made to assassinate him, that he never went out without guards. Even in the streets of Lisbon, his carriage was always accompanied or surrounded by a detachment of Cavalry, with their swords drawn, for his protection. He was, indeed, not less odious to the Nobility and Clergy, than to the People; perhaps, even more so; one of the

great objects of his policy, during more than twenty years, having been to reduce the Aristocratic and Ecclesiastical Privileges of every kind, to a strict dependance on the crown and government. In 1772, the state prisons were full of unfortunate victims. The tower of Belem, the fort of the Bougie, situate at the mouth of the Tagus, and the castle of St. Julien, placed at the northern entrance of that river, were all crowded with prisoners, of which, a great proportion had been Jesuits, arrested in 1758, or in 1763, by the Minister. The subterranean Casemates of the Castle of St. Julien contained above a hundred individuals, who could be seen by persons walking on the ramparts of the fortress, through the iron gratings which admitted some light to those gloomy abodes. I have, myself, beheld many of them, at the depth of fifty or sixty feet below me, pacing to and fro; most of whom, being Jesuits, were habited in the dress of the Order. They excited great commiseration. The famous Gabriel Malagrida, an Italian Jesuit, who was accused of having, as Confessor to the Marchioness of Tavora, known and encouraged her to the attempt upon Joseph's life; after being long imprisoned in that fortress,

was burnt at the stake in 1761. He appears to have been rather a visionary, and an imbecile Fanatic, than a man of dangerous parts. His public execution, when near seventy-five years of age, must be considered as a cruel and odious act, which reflects disgrace on Joseph, and on his Minister. Malagrida's name is become proverbial among us, to express duplicity; and has been applied to one of our greatest modern Statesmen, by his political opponents. Many other persons, of all ranks, either known, or believed to have been, implicated in the Duke d'Aveiro's conspiracy, remained still shut up in the various State Prisons of Portugal. Most, or all of these unhappy sufferers who survived, have, I believe, been since liberated, in 1777, on the Accession of the present Queen.

In extenuation, if not in justification of the first Minister, and of Joseph, it must, however be admitted, that the national character of the Portugueze, at once bigotted, sanguinary, and vindictive, demanded a severe Government. They were neither to be reformed, enlightened, nor coerced, by gentle and palliative remedies. At the decease of John the Fifth, the streets of Lisbon, even in

the most frequented quarters, exhibited perpetual scenes of violence, and of murder, during the night. Dead bodies, stabbed, and covered with wounds, were left exposed in the squares and public places. But, before 1772, the Police, introduced and rigorously enforced by the Marquis de Pombal, had almost extinguished these enormities; and had rendered the Capital nearly as secure as London. During my residence there, of many weeks, such was the vigilance of the Patrole, that only one assassination was committed; and I have returned home, alone, on foot, at the latest hours, without danger or apprehension. Nor were the cares of the First Minister limited to the mere protection of the Metropolis. Its re-edification, salubrity, and improvement in every sense, occupied his capacious mind. Lisbon might truly be said to rise from its ashes, as antient Rome did under Augustus, renewed and beautified. The education of the young Nobility formed, likewise, a distinguished object of his regard. A College, founded solely for their benefit, at an immense expence, was already nearly completed. I visited it, as I did the manufactures of silk, of lace, of ivory, and many others, carrying

on under his auspices. All these bespoke a great and elevated understanding, intent on ameliorating the order of things, and animated by very salutary or enlarged views. But, the greater number of the Marquis de Pombal's institutions, edifices, and fabricks, being incomplete, demanded time or funds for their entire accomplishment. The detestation in which he was held, impeded their progress; nor was it doubted, that as soon as the present Queen, then Princess of Brazil, should succeed to the throne, her superstition, or her prejudices, would overturn all that Joseph and his Minister had done, to introduce improvements or reforms into Portugal. The event justified this prediction.

Joseph's reign, which had been marked by earthquakes, conspiracies, and war, was regarded by the Portugueze nation, not without some apparent reason, as a most calamitous period. Yet if we compare the misfortunes of that time, with those which have succeeded, when the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and the principal Nobility, have been compelled to abandon their native country, in order to seek an Asylum in South America; while the Capital and the provinces have been

occupied, over-run, and plundered, by a revolutionary enemy of the most rapacious description;—how comparatively tolerable were the evils endured under Joseph, when placed near those to which Portugal has been subjected under his daughter! They may be said to have equalled, if they did not exceed, between 1807 and 1810, the degradation and subversion which followed the death of Sebastian, in the sixteenth century, when Philip the Second rendered himself master of the kingdom. Having mentioned Sebastian, I shall say a few words on the history of that unfortunate prince. It is well known that he perished or disappeared, in the famous battle of Arzila, on the coast of Barbary, fought on the 4th of August, 1578. I have seen, in the royal palace at Cintra, a little open court or balcony, adjoining one of the rooms of state, in which was constructed a stone chair or seat, coated with a sort of coarse porcelain; a bench of the same materials extending on each side. In that chair, while his Ministers sat round him, Sebastian, as constant tradition asserts, held the memorable Council, in which the enterprize against Morocco was resolved on, contrary to the advice and opinions of his more prudent Counsellors. That he was no

more seen after the day of the battle of Arzila, by the Portugueze, is certain; but it is not absolutely ascertained beyond all doubt, that he perished there. His body was never found, or at least, was never identified; and I have conversed with very judicious men at Lisbon, who inclined to believe, that the individual who appeared at Venice in 1598, asserting himself to be Sebastian, was really that prince.

Joseph had one sister, named Barbara, who was married, at seventeen years of age, to Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, youngest of the sons of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by his first queen, and who afterwards succeeded him in the Spanish throne. This princess, who seems to have been entirely under the dominion of superstition and of music; before she quitted Lisbon, in order to become the wife of Ferdinand, in 1729, having repaired to the church of the "Madre de Dios," or Mother of God, situate on the banks of the Tagus, in the suburbs; there made a solemn offering to the Virgin, of the rich dress, laces, and valuable jewels, which she had worn at the ceremony of her espousals. I was induced to visit the church, for the pur-

pose of viewing this magnificent sacrifice, or renunciation of female ornament. The image was habited from head to foot, in the finest lace; the stomacher, necklace, and ear-rings, being altogether composed of Brilliants. Lady Wortley Montagu remarks, in one of her Letters, written from some part of Germany, I believe, from Cologne; that in her time, as early as 1717, or 1718, the knavery of the priests had already removed, in most, or in many of the Catholic Churches, the precious stones which devotees had presented to the Saints; substituting paste, or other imitations in their place. This assertion may have been well founded, relative to Germany; but was not true in Portugal, at a much later period. I viewed these diamonds, by permission of the priests, very closely, through the Medium of a glass case, in which the Virgin herself was inclosed; and I have not the slightest doubt that they were the identical jewels, presented by the Princess on the above-mentioned occasion. At the feet of his Mother, secured within the same case, lay a waxen figure of the infant Jesus, wrapt in similar attire, and reposing in a cradle of solid silver. How long these costly articles of dress may have remained unremoved in the church of the "Madre

de Dios," since I saw them, I cannot pretend to say: but we may presume that the Prince Regent, when he embarked for Rio Janeiro, did not leave them behind, for the Duchess of Abrantés, or the revolutionary rapacity of the French Generals; who would no more have spared them, than the Elder Dionysius did the golden beard of Esculapius, or the mantle of Jupiter.

The Princess Barbara, who became Queen of Spain in 1746, constituted the supreme felicity of Ferdinand the Sixth her husband; with whom she lived twenty-nine years, in a state of such conjugal union as is rarely to be found in human life, and still more rarely on the throne. They nevertheless remained without issue. Like his Queen, Ferdinand nourished a decided passion, or rather rage for music; and it is well known that the celebrated Farinelli enjoyed under his reign, as he had previously done under that of Philip the Fifth, an almost unbounded ascendant over both the King and Queen. Such was Farinelli's prodigious influence, that he may be said to have shared the political power of the state with Ensenada, the first Minister of Ferdinand; a Prince

who, though he reigned in our own times, is hardly known or remembered beyond the limits of Spain. His talents were very confined, but his intentions were upright. Notwithstanding the obligations of the "Family Compact," he refused, on the commencement of the war between Great Britain and France in 1756, to join the latter power; or to sacrifice, as his successor Charles the Third did in 1761, the interests of his people, to the ties of consanguinity existing between him and Louis the Fifteenth. Till his decease, which took place in 1759, Ferdinand maintained a strict neutrality. His death was unquestionably produced by grief for the loss of his Queen, who had been carried off in the preceding year. From that time Ferdinand became a prey to the most inveterate melancholy, which not only enfeebled, but, in some measure alienated his mind. Abandoning himself to despair, he declined all society; refused to change his linen, or to take any remedies, during some weeks before he expired; and ultimately died the victim of conjugal affection. In consequence of this event, his half-brother, Charles, son of Philip the Fifth by his second wife, and who then reigned at Naples, ascended the throne of Spain.

I passed a great part of the years 1775 and 1776, in France, not long after the decease of Louis the Fifteenth; a Sovereign whose character and actions always appeared to me to be depreciated and undervalued by the French, nearly in the same proportion that they have elevated those of Louis the Fourteenth above their just standard. Like his predecessor, he succeeded to the crown while in childhood; but he had not the same advantages as Louis the Fourteenth enjoyed, whose mother, Anne of Austria, watched with maternal solicitude over his preservation. Louis the Fifteenth, who survived both his parents, was left, during the Regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, principally to the care of Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, who obtained over his pupil, an early, and almost an unbounded ascendant. The Regency lasted above eight years; and there is no period of time since the Abdication of James the Second in 1689, during which France and England have been so closely united by political ties. George the First and the Regent Duke, both dreaded a Pretender: one, in the son of James; the other, in Philip the Fifth, King of Spain. Impelled by this apprehension, the two Princes equally made

the policy and interests of their respective countries, subordinate to their personal objects of acquisition or ambition. Philip, Duke of Orleans, was undoubtedly, one of the most immoral and profligate men whom we have beheld in modern ages. The Orgies of the "Palais Royal," probably exceeded in depravity, as well as in enormity, every thing of the same kind ever acted, even in France. But, the Regent likewise displayed some of the greatest endowments and talents, fitted both for the cabinet and for the field. His descendant, who performed so detestable a part in the late French Revolution, only resembled him in his vices. He inherited neither the distinguished personal courage, nor the ardor for knowledge, nor the military skill, nor the aptitude for public business, nor the elevated mind of the Regent; who, if he had not been restrained by some considerations of goodness, or some emotions of affection, might easily have acted by Louis the Fifteenth, as we suppose that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, did by Edward the Fifth; or, as we know that the late Duke of Orleans acted by Louis the Sixteenth, and his Queen. To the Regent, whose life was

terminated in the arms of the Duchess de Valori, abbreviated by his excesses, succeeded the short and feeble Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, comprising scarcely three years; but, which produced one event peculiarly interesting to the young King, and to France; I mean, his marriage.

There is no instance in the last or present Century, of any female attaining so great an elevation, as that of Mademoiselle de Leczinska to the throne of France: for, we cannot justly reckon the second marriage of the Czar Peter, with Catherine, the Livonian peasant, as an exception. Muscovy could scarcely then be considered as forming a portion of the European System, nor were its sovereigns altogether subjected to our usages. That the daughter of an expatriated Polish Nobleman or Palatine, whom Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had nominally forced upon the Poles as their King, during a few years; but, who was in fact only a needy exiled adventurer, driven by necessity, to take shelter in an obscure provincial town of Alsace, and destitute of territories, or almost of support; — that a Princess, if such she might indeed be pro-

perly denominated, who could hardly be thought a suitable match for one of the petty sovereigns on the banks of the Elbe, or the Rhine, should have been selected for the Consort of a King of France; may assuredly be considered as one of the most singular caprices of fortune. Its singularity becomes augmented, when we reflect that the young Monarch was already not only betrothed to the daughter of Philip the Fifth, his uncle, King of Spain; but, that the Princess destined to share his throne and bed, had long resided in France, the nuptials being only delayed till the two parties should attain a proper age. Yet, in defiance of this impediment, did the Duke of Bourbon venture to send back Philip's daughter to Madrid; and I met her at Lisbon, near half a Century afterwards, become Queen of Portugal; transported from the banks of the Seine, to those of the Tagus: while a native of Poland, brought up in obscurity, and hardly accounted among the female candidates for an European Crown, supplied her place. The motive assigned for so extraordinary a proceeding, on the part of the Duke of Bourbon, was his apprehension that the young King, whose constitution seemed

scarcely to promise his attaining to manhood, should die without issue.

I have been assured by persons conversant in the secret History of the early part of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, that when the Duke of Bourbon determined on dissolving the unconsummated marriage between the young King and Philip's daughter, he found himself under the greatest embarrassment, whom to substitute in her room. He had a sister, Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1705, whose age and personal accomplishments rendered her a fit bride for Louis. She then resided at the Abbey of Fontevraud in Anjou, under the protection of the Abbess; and it was natural for the Duke to desire to raise her to the throne. But, he was himself enslaved to the celebrated Marchioness de Prie, his mistress, who wished to have the merit of naming the future Queen; in whose household, and about whose person, she aspired to occupy a distinguished situation. On the other hand, they both equally dreaded giving a wife to their Sovereign, whose charms, talents, or ambition, might impel her to assume an empire over his mind. Louis, then only entering on his sixteenth

year, brought up in great seclusion, scarcely initiated in public business; and though not destitute of talents, yet indolent, of very reserved habits, modest, and diffident of himself; would, not improbably, like his uncle, Philip the Fifth, be governed by a queen of energy or spirit. Before the choice fell therefore on the Duke of Bourbon's sister, it behoved the Marchioness to ascertain, whether, if selected for so great an elevation, she would probably manifest ductility of character, gratitude, and attachment for the person who principally raised her to that eminence. In order to obtain satisfaction on a point so important, Madame de Prie determined to procure an interview with Mademoiselle de Sens, to whom she was unknown by person, though not by reputation. Assuming therefore a fictitious name, she repaired to Fontevraud, and having been presented to her, found means to turn the conversation on the Marchioness de Prie. Unconscious that the stranger to whom she addressed her discourse, was the Marchioness herself, the Princess gave full scope to her antipathy towards a woman, whom she considered as exercising a pernicious influence over her brother's mind. This disclosure of her sentiments at once stopped the further

prosecution of Madame de Prie's plan, for placing her on the French throne, and compelled her to turn her views to another quarter.

The Duke of Bourbon, not discouraged by the obstacle which difference of religion imposed, next embraced the extraordinary measure of demanding for his master, the hand of an English Princess; and he named as the object of his selection, the eldest Grand-daughter of George the First, Anne, who afterwards married William the Fourth, Prince of Orange. This event took place in 1725. However strong might be the objection arising from her profession of the Protestant faith, which she must necessarily have renounced, in order to ascend the throne of France, yet the offer was alluring; and Henrietta, sister of Charles the Second, had married Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, after Charles's Restoration. But, George the First, though gratified by the proposition of seeing one of his female descendants wear the French crown, yet was too wise to accept it; well knowing that such an alliance, however splendid in itself, or whatever political advantages it might seem to present, would irritate and disgust all the

adherents of the succession in the House of Hanover. Thus foiled in two attempts to dispose of Louis the Fifteenth's hand, and firmly resolved on effecting his marriage, Madame de Prie cast her eyes on Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislaus. She was then living with her father at Weissembourg, in Alsace; a town situate not far from the Rhine, on the frontier of Germany, though in the dominions of France; where the titular King of Poland resided in as much obscurity as Charles the Second lived in the preceding Century at Cologne, during the Protectorate of Cromwell. So little expectation did he entertain of matching his daughter with a crowned head, that he had already lent a favourable ear to the proposals of a private Nobleman, a subject of France, the Count d'Estrees, who offered her marriage. Stanislaus accepted the offer, but desired to delay its accomplishment, till he could procure the honours of a Duchess, at the Court of Versailles, for Mademoiselle de Leczinska. With that view he made applications to obtain a Brevet of Duke for the Count d'Estrees, his destined son-in-law, though without success; fortune reserving for her the

first diadem in Europe. Her principal recommendation consisted in her want of personal attractions, the humility of her condition, and the obligation to gratitude which she must naturally feel for the authors of so wonderful a change in her fortune. In fact, Nature had neither bestowed on her, beauty, elegance of manners, nor intellectual endowments of any kind. Even youth she could scarcely be said to possess, as she was twenty-three years of age; while her destined husband was only sixteen. We know not which to admire most, the singularity of such a choice, or the passive apathy displayed by Louis, while his Minister and Madame de Prie thus disposed of his person. Maria Leczinska brought him nothing, as a portion, on the day of her nuptials, except modesty, virtue, and goodness of heart. Yet the young King, during eleven or twelve years after his marriage, exhibited a pattern of conjugal fidelity, which stands strongly contrasted with Louis the Fourteenth's dissolute amours, at the same period of life; though Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fourth, could boast of much superior charms to the Polish Princess. The Duchess de la Valiere, Madame

de Montespan, and Madame de Fontanges, disputed for the possession of Louis the Fourteenth's youth. It was not till the afternoon and evening of his successor's life, that he sunk into the arms of the Marchioness de Pompadour, and of the Countess du Barry.

The Duke de Bourbon's and Madame de Prie's period of power proved, nevertheless, of short duration. He was banished in 1726, to Chantilly; and at that point of time commences Cardinal Fleury's Administration. It lasted nearly as long as Richlieu's, namely, about seventeen years; and though Fleury was far inferior in strength of character, resources, and energy, to his predecessor, yet may France justly feel for him equal gratitude. Pacific, economical, unostentatious, and mild, he seemed made to heal the wounds inflicted on their country, by Louis the Fourteenth, and the Regent. If Richlieu, as we are assured from contemporary authority, ventured to raise his eyes to Anne of Austria, and to make her propositions of a libertine nature; it is equally a fact, however incredible it may appear, that Fleury, then above seventy years of age, carried his presumption still farther with respect to Maria Leczinska. I shall not

relate the particulars. That Princess, conscious nevertheless of the ascendant which the Cardinal had obtained over her husband, possessed too much prudence to communicate to him, in the first instance, the subject of her complaint. She wisely preferred making a Confidant of her father. To Stanislaus she revealed the temerity of the aged Minister, and besought him, at the same time, to give her his advice for her conduct, particularly on the point of her acquainting Louis with the circumstance. Stanislaus exhorted her, in reply, to bury the secret for ever in her own bosom; observing at the same time, that sovereign Princesses are placed on such an eminence, as almost to render it impossible for any disrespectful propositions to be made them, unless they encourage, to a certain degree, such advances. The Queen was discreet enough to adopt this judicious and paternal counsel. If I had not received the anecdote here related, from a person, whose intimacy with the individuals composing the Court of France at that time, joined to his rank and high character, left no doubt of its authenticity, I should not venture to recount the fact.

To Louis the Fifteenth France stands indebted for the acquisition of Lorrain, a territory of such inestimable value, as to mock calculation; perhaps surpassing in real importance, any augmentation of the French dominions made by arms, within the three last Centuries. Henry the Second had conquered Metz, Toul, and Verdun, besides reannexing Calais, so long held by the English Princes. The Counties of Bourg and Bresse, covering the Borders on the side of Savoy, were gained by Henry the Fourth. His son, Louis the Thirteenth, or more properly to speak, the Cardinal de Richlieu, added Rousillon and Cerdagne, situate at one extremity of the kingdom, towards Catalonia; while in another quarter, he reduced Artois and Alsace to the French obedience. Lastly, Louis the Fourteenth, in the course of his long, ambitious, and sanguinary career, exceeding in duration seventy years, not only enlarged or strengthened his frontier along the Rhine; but augmented his territories by the addition of Franche Compté, and of a vast portion of Flanders. Yet may we justly doubt, whether any of these acquisitions conferred such strength and security, as the possession of Lorrain. When we reflect on the beauty and

extent of that fine province, stretching into the midst of France, and separating Champagne from Burgundy; contiguous on the East, to Germany, while on the West, its limits approached Paris itself; — we must own that the French are ungrateful to the memory of a Prince, who, permanently retained such a tract of country. It affixed the seal to every preceding effort made by their Kings, for the security, greatness, and protection of France; leaving no object of real and wise ambition, unaccomplished. Nor can we too severely censure the inert, or parsimonious and narrow policy of Walpole, in permitting Cardinal Fleury to illustrate his Administration by such an act. France did not, indeed, instantly take possession in her own name, of the Duchies of Lorrain and Bar. Fortune, after raising Maria Leczinska to the throne of France, conferred on her father, in recompence for his ideal Polish Crown, those fertile provinces, the enjoyment and revenues of which were secured to him for his life. Such a substitution was, in fact, exchanging the armour of Diomed, for that of Glaucus; a barren sceptre, for one of gold.

Stanislaus, when this event took place in

1736, was already near sixty, and he remained during thirty years, Duke of Lorrain. His administration, mild, beneficent, and liberal, rendered him beloved by his new subjects. He embellished Nancy, the Capital; but he held his Court and residence principally at Luneville, where he expired in consequence of a singular accident, having been burnt to death. Charles, King of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, perished nearly in the same manner, about four centuries earlier, at Pampeluna. The late Lady Mary Churchill, Sir Robert Walpole's daughter, who then resided with her husband at Luneville, has more than once recounted to me all the particulars of Stanislaus's end. Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary, who lived in habits of intimacy with him, dined at his Villa of Bon Secours, a short distance from Luneville, on the day preceding the Catastrophe which terminated his life. She assured me, that though extremely bent with age and infirmities, being then near eighty nine years old, he retained both his faculties and his good humour. Naturally gallant, he had a nominal Mistress, the Marchioness de Boufflers, who occupied a part of the Palace of Luneville, and to whom he was much attached; though he manifested neither jealousy nor

dissatisfaction at her preference of a younger rival. His own Chancellor had contrived to insinuate himself into Madame de Boufflers' favour; a fact of which the King was not ignorant. Taking leave of her, one evening, when retiring to his apartment, after embracing her, "*Mon Chancelier*," added he, "*vous dira le reste*;" a jocose allusion to the words with which, as is well known, the French Sovereigns, when holding a *Bed of Justice*, always finish their harangues. Stanislaus, during the last years of his life, withdrew to rest every night, at nine o'clock, and his departure constituted the signal for commencing Faro. All the persons of both sexes, composing his Court and Household, then sat down to that infatuating game, which was continued without intermission to a late hour. But, a circumstance seemingly incredible is, that the rage for it became such, as to attract by degrees to the table, all the Domestics of the Palace, down to the very Turnspits or Scullions; who crowding round, staked their *Ecus* on the cards, over the heads of the company. Such a fact sufficiently proves the relaxation of manners which prevailed in the Court of Lorrain, under Stanislaus.

His death, as Lady Mary Churchill related it to me, took place in February, 1766, in the following manner. The old King, who, like the Poles and Germans, was much addicted to smoaking Tobacco, usually finished several pipes, every day. Being alone, in an undress, while endeavouring to knock out the ashes from his pipe, he set fire to his gown; and his *Valet de Chambre*, who alone exercised the privilege of entering his apartment, had, unfortunately just gone into the town of Luneville. His cries were not immediately heard; but when they reached the officer stationed on guard in the outward room, he flew to the King's assistance; and having contrived to throw him down on the floor, the flames were speedily extinguished. He might even have survived and recovered the accident, if it had not been accompanied with a singular circumstance. Stanislaus, who had become devout during the last years of his life, as a penance for his transgressions, constantly wore under his shirt, next to his flesh, a "*Reliquaire*," or girdle made of silver, having points on the inside, from space to space. These points becoming heated, and being pressed into his body, while in the act of extinguishing the fire, caused a number of wounds or sores;

the discharge from which, at his advanced period of life, proved too severe for his enfeebled constitution. Conscious that his end approached, and only a short time before it took place, he expressed a warm desire to see Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary. They having immediately waited on him, the King received them with great complacency, and with perfect self possession; took leave of them most cheerfully; remarked the singularity of his fortune throughout life; and added, alluding to the strange manner of his death, "*Il ne manquoit qu'une pareille mort, pour un avanturier comme moi.*" He soon afterwards expired, retaining his senses and understanding almost to the last moments of his existence.

If Louis the Fifteenth, by the peace of 1736, acquired Lorrain for France, he covered himself and his country with military glory, during the war that commenced in 1741, on the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Fleury was no more; he and Walpole having finished their political careers nearly about the same time. History can present, in no period of the world, an instance of a first Minister commencing his administration, like Fleury, at seventy-three

years of age, and retaining his power till he was ninety. Such a fact must, indeed, be considered as an exception to the general laws of nature, moral, as well as physical. Cardinal Ximenes in Spain, who approached the nearest to him, died at eighty-one. In 1744, the year after Fleury's decease, Louis was seized, at Metz, with a fever, which nearly proved fatal. Had he expired at that time, as was expected to happen every moment, during several successive days, his memory would have been embalmed in the hearts of his subjects, and of mankind. Never were more ardent, or more universal vows offered up to Heaven by the Roman People, for the recovery of Germanicus, than were made by the French Nation, for his restoration! They were unfortunately heard, and we are forced to exclaim with Juvenal,

> "Provida Pompeio dederat Campania Febres
> Optandas: sed multæ Urbes, et publica Vota
> Vicerunt."——

Though Louis, like Pompey, survived these testimonies of popular favour, yet, during the whole course of that war, down to its termination in 1748, he continued to deserve, and to retain, the affections of the Nation. Four brilliant and triumphant Campaigns, in

one of which he was personally present, rendered him master of all the Austrian Netherlands. The military Trophies of Marlborough, erected forty years earlier on the same plains, were lost at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, and at Lafeldt. Greater by his moderation, than even by his conquests, he gave peace to Europe at Aix-la-Chapelle, when Holland lay open to his attack; and when Mr. Pelham, who was then at the head of the Councils of England, possessed neither pecuniary nor military resources for maintaining the contest. Louis the Fourteenth may undoubtedly have inspired more terror at certain periods of his reign; but never excited more respect, than did his successor at the conclusion of the great war, which took place on the accession of Maria Theresa.

It forms a curious subject of reflection, that the armies of France, during this splendid portion of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, when he thus over-ran the Low Countries, were commanded by Foreigners. To Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, had succeeded Catinat, Vendome, Boufflers, and Villars: but these last Generals left no successors. In 1734, Villars, at near four-score, remained the sole survivor of those illustrious Commanders, who,

from Rocroi down to Denain, from 1643 to 1712, had carried victory over so many countries of Europe. An Englishman, the Duke of Berwick, son of James the Second, was placed at the head of the French forces on the Rhine, in 1734: while a German and a Dane subjected Flanders to Louis the Fifteenth, between 1743 and 1748. Marshal Saxe, the former of these Generals, attained a reputation hardly exceeded by any individual in modern Times. Lowendahl, the other, was immortalized by the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, then regarded as the most impregnable fortress on the Continent. Both survived the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle only a few years. I have been in the apartment of the palace of Chambord, near Blois, where Marshal Saxe expired in November, 1750; extenuated by pleasures which had enervated his Herculean frame, and produced his premature end at fifty-four years of age. The natural son of Augustus the Second, King of Poland, he inherited from his father, an extraordinary degree of bodily strength; but, like Milo in Antiquity,

"Viribus ille
Confisus periit, admirandisque Lacertis."

At Chambord, where he lived in a magnificent style, he constantly entertained a company of Comedians, as if he had been a Sovereign Prince. Mademoiselle de Chantilly, an Actress in high reputation at Paris, having, from her personal beauty, no less than from her theatrical merit, attracted the Marshal's attention, he caused proposals to be made her, for repairing to Chambord, to perform on his Theatre. But she, who was already married to Favard, an Actor on the French Stage, knowing the Marshal's designs on her person, rejected all his offers. In this Dilemma, determined to gain possession of her, he applied to Monsieur de Berruyer, then *Lieutenant de Police*, requesting him to compel her to visit Chambord. Berruyer, desirous of obliging Marshal Saxe, made use of every argument, and enforced them by very ample pecuniary offers. Finding, however, all his exertions fruitless, he sent her a *Lettre de Cachet*, ordering her immediately to prison, or to Chambord. We must own that this atrocious abuse of power, which reminds us of Appius Claudius and Virginia, excites indignation against a Government capable of having recourse to such expedients, in order

to gratify the depraved and licentious appetites of an exhausted Voluptuary. Thus pressed between imprisonment and the sacrifice of her person, she preferred the latter expedient; as many other women might have done under her circumstances, without perhaps incurring either any deep degree of culpability, or exciting any strong emotions of moral reprobation. Pity, indeed, rather than condemnation, arises in the mind, on such a recital. Arriving at Chambord, she was forced to gratify the Marshal's desires. It is difficult to relate the sequel of the story, without involuntarily wounding decorum: yet may the Moral that it contains, almost apologize for such a deviation, or in some degree even demand it. Mademoiselle de Chantilly having been reluctantly conducted to the Marshal's bed, expressed herself with some contempt of his prowess as a lover. Piqued at the insinuation, he had recourse to those expedients for recruiting, or resuscitating his decayed powers, which *Pope*, one of the most correct of modern Poets, who exclaims,

"Curst be the Verse, how soft so'er it flow,
That serves to make one Honest Man my Foe;
Give Virtue Scandal, Innocence a Fear,
Or from the soft-eyed Virgin steal a Tear;"

yet has not hesitated to enumerate in his "January and May;" but, in which enumeration I cannot venture to follow him. Satyrion and Eringo stand at the head of the list. The auxiliary proved too powerful for the principal, and produced his death within a short time; a dissolution of which Mademoiselle de Chantilly formed the cause. He expired nearly in the same manner as the Regent Duke of Orleans had done, about twenty-five years earlier; a Prince to whom, both in his virtues, his endowments of mind, and his defects or vices, Marshal Saxe exhibited some Analogy.

Louis the Fifteenth not only occupied the most distinguished place among the European Sovereigns and Powers, during the period of near eight years, which intervened between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the commencement of the war of 1756; but, for a considerable time subsequent to that rupture, every success was on the side of France. Beyond the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Germany, as well as on the French coasts and shores, her arms maintained their ascendancy. Mezerai, or Voltaire, might have expatiated with exultation and pleasure, on the events of Minorca, of Ticonderago, of Braddock's defeat

in Carolina, of Closter-seven, of St. Cas, and of Rochfort; as, on the other hand, assuredly neither Hume nor Smollett could have derived from the narration of those unfortunate or disgraceful transactions, any subject of triumph. That Louis, no less than his people, sunk under the energies of the first Mr. Pitt, between 1759 and 1762, must be admitted: but, all the atchievements of that great Minister, in both Hemispheres, on the land and on the water, from the Philippines to Cuba, and from Cape Breton to Senegal, were sacrificed at the peace of Fontainbleau. We seemed to have humbled the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, only to re-construct their fallen power: restoring all that we ought in wisdom, to have retained; and retaining or acquiring all that in policy we should have surrendered to France and Spain. Witness Canada and Florida, which we preserved! Witness the Havanna, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and so many other islands or Settlements which we ceded; not to include in the list, Manilla, a capture unknown to the British Ministry who signed the treaty, and of which the ransom has never been paid, down to the present moment. Well might "Junius" exclaim, that the Embassador who subscribed such unbecoming condi-

tions, must have sold his country! Well might scandal, if not truth, assert, that the Princess Dowager of Wales received for herself, as a present, from the court of Versailles, a Hundred Thousand Pounds; and that the First Minister, Lord Bute, retained for his share, ninety-six Thousand! Even the popularity of George the Third, sustained by the most irreproachable and exemplary display of private virtues, could not stand the shock of such a peace; which covered him with as much obloquy, as that of Utrecht had inflicted on Queen Anne.

France, from 1763 to 1770, repaired her losses; and while her Councils were guided by the vigorous, as well as enterprizing mind of Choiseul, Louis the Fifteenth, however vanquished he might have been in the preceding contest, re-appeared with at least as much dignity on the Theatre of Europe, as Louis the Fourteenth had done after the War of the Succession. Choiseul, secure on the side of Flanders and of Germany, by the alliance subsisting with the House of Austria since 1756, extended succours to the Polish Insurgents, against Catherine the Second; laid the foundations of the Swedish Revolution, which

was effected by Gustavus the Third in 1772; and reduced to the obedience of his master, the Island of Corsica, nearly about the time when that country gave birth to a man, whose relentless and insatiable ambition or vengeance, have equally laid waste the territory of France, and polluted by his crimes, or converted into a desert, the most flourishing kingdoms of the Continent. The universal abhorrence excited by his atrocities, renders it unnecessary to name a Monster, whose very existence, and still more, whose favoured place of retreat, on the delicious shore of Tuscany, surrounded by the splendour of a Prince, seem to reproach the justice, no less than the policy, of the European Powers.

Louis the Fifteenth, like his predecessor, survived his only son; justifying the Roman Poet's remark on the evils that accompany and characterize longevity, when he says, —

"Hæc data pœna diu viventibus, ut renovata
Semper clade domus, multis in luctibus, inque
Perpetuo mœrore, et nigra veste senescant."

The Dauphin Louis died at Fontainbleau, towards the end of 1765, at the age of about thirty-six. Whether we consider his death

abstractedly, with reference to his character and mental qualities; or whether we try it by the calamitous reign of his son, which may be said without a Metaphor to have brought France to the Block; we must be compelled to regard the Dauphin's premature end, as one of the most unfortunate events which could have taken place for the French Monarchy, and for the House of Bourbon. It was produced, as I have been assured by persons who had frequent access to him, and who enjoyed a distinguished place in his confidence, from the effect of medicines which he took in order to repel or to disperse an eruption that appeared near his mouth. He was supposed to have caught the disorder from his wife the Dauphiness, a Princess of Saxony, daughter of Augustus the Third, King of Poland, who had a violent scorbutic humour in her blood. Malignity proceeded so far, as even to accuse the King his Father of having caused the Dauphin's death, by administering slow poison; a circumstance principally founded on the state of extenuation and languor to which he was reduced during the long malady that brought him to the grave; but, for which imputation, not the slightest foundation existed in truth. Louis the Fifteenth, though na-

turally indolent, as well as dissolute; and profligate towards the close of his life, manifested no cruelty, or systematic atrocity of character. He neither resembled Louis the Eleventh, nor Bonaparte. His son possessed firmness of mind, and a solid understanding, cultivated by polite letters. For the society of men distinguished by talents of any kind, he displayed as strong a partiality, as the King betrayed an aversion throughout his whole reign. Devout, and in some degree tinctured with bigotry, he nevertheless sought occasions of conversing with individuals known to have embraced ideas adverse to the Catholic faith, as well as to revealed religion. With *Hume*, then Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, and at the summit of his reputation, or as the "Heroic Epistle" says, "drunk with Gal-"lic wine, and Gallic praise," the Dauphin, not a great while before his decease, had a long conversation, principally on points connected with philosophical disquisition. When *Hume* was presented to him, "I know," said he, "that you hold very free opinions on mat-"ters connected with Revelation; but my "principles are fixed, and therefore speak "out to me; for otherwise I should only be "conversing with a man in a mask." He was

the third Dauphin in hereditary descent, who had attained to manhood without ascending the French throne, within the short space of fifty four years. His death was followed, at no long interval of time, by that of the Dauphiness his widow, and the Queen his mother; leaving Louis the Fifteenth at near sixty, surrounded by his daughters, and his grandchildren.

Unquestionably, the four last years of his reign were passed in a manner worthy of Sardanapalus; oblivious of his public duties, insensible to national glory, and lost to every sentiment of private virtue, or even of Decorum. From the instant that, dismissing Choiseul from his Councils, and rejecting the favorable opportunity offered him by the dispute which arose between England and Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, for recovering the honor, as well as the territories lost by France during the preceding war; he abandoned himself to pleasures no longer suited to his age;—from that moment he became an object of contempt and Opprobrium to his own subjects. Unfortunately for his fame, he has been tried and estimated by this inglorious portion of his life. Yet, even while the Dukes

of Aiguillon and of Richlieu directed public affairs, while the Great Seal of France was entrusted to Maupeou, while the Finances were abandoned to the Abbé Terray, and while a woman of the most libertine description, Madame du Barry, presided over his looser hours, he at least exerted some proofs of vigour in his treatment of the Parliaments of his kingdom, whom he controuled and banished: unlike his yielding Successor, who suffered himself to be overwhelmed under the progressive effects of popular innovation. When we compare the concluding years of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, from 1712 to 1715, with the termination of his great grandson's life, from 1770 to 1774; we shall see that the Court was alike, in both instances, completely under female controul. It would indeed be as unjust to place Madame du Barry in competition with Madame de Maintenon; as to elevate Thais or Campaspé, to a level with Aspasia, or with Livia. Yet did the Palace and Court of the former Prince, exhibit as degrading a scene of mingled hypocrisy, bigotry, and superstition; as Versailles displayed a spectacle of debauch and licentious pleasure, under the latter Sovereign. If it were permitted to cite as authority for this assertion,

the "*Pucelle*" of Voltaire; a Poem no less captivating from its wit, than dangerous from its spirit and tendency; but, the historical portraits scattered throughout which production, are sketched with admirable ability by a master hand; we might there behold the ignominious figure which "the Phœnix of the "Bourbons" presented in the evening of his life, surrounded by devotees, priests, and monks,

"Hercule en Froc, et Priape en Soutane."

Louis the Fifteenth, during his last years, excites nevertheless more disgust, because it is unqualified by any sentiment of pity, or of respect. His death, which took place under these circumstances, was hailed by the French, as the Era of their liberation from a yoke equally disgraceful and severe: while the new Reign awakened in a nation characterized by its superficial or sanguine frame of mind, the most extravagant visions of future felicity. We may however safely assume, that Louis the Fifteenth, who had refused to join Charles the Third of Spain in 1770, when every circumstance invited him to a rupture with England; and who was known to have taken an unalterable determination of terminating his life in

peace; — we may be assured that such a Prince, at sixty-eight or seventy, would not have sent La Fayette and Rochambeau across the Atlantic, there to imbibe the principles of rebellion and Republicanism, with which they returned to inoculate France, and to subvert the throne. Louis the Sixteenth, only four years after his Accession, in 1778, embraced, though against his own judgement, this pernicious and improvident measure, from which, in an eminent degree, flowed the destruction of his House. So true is it, that —

> "Evertere domos totas, optantibus ipsis,
> Di faciles."

We cannot reflect without some surprize, that Louis the Fifteenth manifested more attention during his last illness, to the well-being and support of Madame du Barry after his decease, than his predecessor displayed for Madame de Maintenon, to whom he had been united above thirty years, by the ties of marriage. The latter possessed nothing, as her own property, on the first of September, 1715, when Louis the Fourteenth breathed his last, except the estate of Maintenon which she had purchased, and a Pension of two thousand Louis d'Ors a year: while the former, beside the immense gratifi-

cations which she had received from her Royal Lover during the period of her favour, was presented by him with the beautiful Chateau and Estate of Lusienne, situate near Marley. Yet Louis the Fourteenth, before he expired, contented himself with only recommending his future widow to the protection of the Duke of Orleans. His Successor, on the contrary, at an early period of his disorder, after expressing the utmost anxiety respecting his Mistress, delivered into the Duke d'Aiguillon's hands, confidentially for her use, in the event of his decease, a Port-Folio containing in Notes, the sum of three Millions of Livres, or about one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. The Duke, with the true spirit of a Courtier, carried this deposit to the new King.

At sixty-four, Louis the Fifteenth died of the small-pox, at Versailles; as his grandfather, the Dauphin, only son of Louis the Fourteenth, was carried off at the Palace of Meudon, by the same malady, in 1711. While any reasonable expectations of his recovery were entertained, Madame du Barry continued her attendance about his person; every idea of the nature of his disease being studiously concealed from him: nor was he

permitted to look at himself in a glass, lest he should discover the change effected in his countenance by the Pustules which covered his face. The Duke de Richlieu even kept guard at the door of his bed-chamber, to prevent the intrusion of any priest or Ecclesiastic who might procure admission, warn him of his danger, and awaken his apprehensions of eternity. But, no sooner was his alarming situation understood, and the apparent improbability of his surviving the attack of so malignant a distemper, became disseminated abroad; than Madame Louisa of France, the King's youngest daughter, who had taken the Veil as a Carmelite Nun, quitting the Convent of which she was Prioress at St. Denis, repaired to Versailles. With irresistable importunity she demanded admittance to her Father, whom she admonished of his perilous state, and impending dissolution: he was already sinking under the ravages of the disease, which left no hope of his surmounting its violence. Madame du Barry had been sent, some days before, to Lusienne. The King expired in a narrow white bed, placed between two windows of his apartment, which were constantly kept open on account of the heat of the weather, though the season of the year was by

no means advanced, it being only the 10th day of May, 1774. These particulars have all been related to me, not long after they took place, by a Gentleman, one of his Pages, who attended him throughout the whole course of his disorder.

It is obvious that the successor of Louis the Fifteenth, must have ascended the Throne under the most favourable Auspices. To the majesty of the first European crown, he added the brilliancy of youth; not having yet completed his twentieth year. But, though young, he possessed neither the graces, the activity, nor the elasticity of mind usually characteristic of that period of life. Heavy, inert, and destitute of all aptitude for any exercises of the body except Hunting, he seemed, like James the First of England, unfit for appearing in the Field. His manners were shy; a natural result of his neglected education, which made Madame du Barry, commonly call him, during his Grandfather's life, "*Le gros Garçon, mal elevé.*" Yet never did any Prince manifest more rectitude of intention, greater probity, or a warmer desire to advance the felicity of his people. Nor was his understanding by any

means inadequate to fulfilling those beneficent designs. He even endeavoured, at an early period of his reign, to repair the want of preceding instruction, by private application. For Geography he displayed an uncommon passion; and it is well known, that none of his Ministers equalled him in that branch of knowledge. Before 1778, when the French Cabinet embraced the determination of aiding the Americans, by sending out D'Estaign with a Fleet to their support; the King had rendered himself so perfect a master of the Topography of the Trans-atlantic Continent, that from the River St. Laurence, to the Southern extremity of Florida, not a head-land, a bay, or almost an inlet, were unknown to him. Warmly attached to the Queen his wife, his nuptial fidelity could admit of no dispute; and in all the relations of private life, he might be esteemed not only blameless, but meritorious. George the Third could hardly lay claim to higher moral esteem and approbation.

Impressed with deep sentiments of filial piety, and of respect for the memory, as well as for the precepts or advice of his Father the Dauphin, he selected his Ministers, in compliance with that Prince's written instruc-

tions which he had carefully preserved, and religiously obeyed. Those instructions impelled him to place the Count de Maurepas at the head of the new Administration, though then at a very advanced period of life. He was, indeed, as old as the Cardinal de Fleury, when he assumed the management of affairs, having attained his seventy-third year in 1774; and having passed the preceding twenty-five years in exile, at Bourges, the obscure Capital of the central and secluded Province of Berri. It may however be justly questioned, whether in this choice, Louis the Sixteenth was fortunate. Maurepas, though a man of superior talents, who preserved in age all the freshness of his intellect, yet plunged his Country into the alliance with America, which proved eventually, at no great distance of time, the leading source of all the Revolutionary Calamities that have desolated France. In his selection of Vergennes for the foreign Department, the King apparently manifested more discernment. I was at Stockholm in June, 1774, when the Courier who brought the intelligence of Louis the Fifteenth's death, delivered to Monsieur de Vergennes, then the French Embassador at the Court of Sweden, letters recalling him to Paris, in order to form a Member of the Cabinet. Happily for themselves, neither Mau-

repas nor Vergennes survived to witness the Commencement of the Revolution.

If a combination of almost all those qualities or endowments, which in a private station, conciliate esteem and excite respect, could have secured to Louis the Sixteenth a tranquil reign, he might justly have pretended to that felicity. But, unfortunately, he wanted the bolder and more affirmative features of the mind, which confirm dominion, repress or extinguish innovation, retain the various classes of subjects in their respective orbits, inspire becoming apprehension, and preserve the throne from insult or attack. These defects had not indeed become apparent to the Nation at large, as early as 1776; but they were not the less obvious to such as had access to his Person and Court. Perhaps, had he succeeded in more tranquil Times, or if he had been the successor of Louis the Fourteenth; under whom, though the Monarchy was convulsed, and almost overturned by foreign enemies, yet the Monarchical principle and power remained firmly rooted in public opinion; he might have maintained himself in his elevation. But, even be-

fore the commencement of the American war, Voltaire and his disciples had undermined both the foundations of the throne and of the altar, by inculcating philosophical principles, calculated in their results, to propel the inferior ranks upon the upper Orders of society. A spirit of disquisition, of discontent, of complaint, and of reform, which pervaded, not only the mass of the French population, but which had infected even the Army, the Navy, and, however strange it may seem, the Church itself; menaced the most alarming consequences. Henry the Fourth and Sully would have anticipated and suppressed it. Louis the Thirteenth and Richlieu would have combated and vanquished it. Louis the Fourteenth and Louvois would have either dispersed, or have overawed and intimidated it. Even Fleury or Choiseul would not have supinely or carelessly allowed it to mature its destructive powers, till it burst into a conflagration. If ever France stood in need of a strong, and even a severe Ruler, it was at the death of Louis the Fifteenth; when the person of the Prince, and the Throne itself, were alike, though from different causes, fallen into contempt. A man of energy, who had possessed military

talents, and who, instead of breaking the Household Troops, disarming the Sovereign Authority, and then convoking the States General; would have mounted on horseback, arrested the first instigators to sedition, and placed himself at the head of his army, in the last resort, against his rebellious subjects; — such a king might have defied the Revolution. But Louis the Sixteenth laboured under a double inaptitude, moral and physical. He was the only monarch since Philip of Valois, if not the single instance since Hugh Capet, the founder of the third Dynasty, who never had, on any occasion, appeared in person among his soldiers. Louis the Fifteenth, and his son the Dauphin, though neither of them were distinguished by martial ardor, yet assisted in the field, made a campaign in the Netherlands; and were stationed by Marshal Saxe in such a manner, at the battle of Fontenoy, as at least to be spectators of, if not participators in, the victory gained on that memorable day. Their ill-fated descendant could never be propelled into such exertions, and he even betrayed a dislike towards shewing himself at the peaceful ceremony of a review.

His personal courage itself, whatever flattery may assert, or candour may suggest, was problematical. That he displayed considerable presence of mind, and contempt of death, when surrounded by a furious populace, in October, 1789, at Versailles, and in July, 1792, at the Tuilleries, cannot be disputed; but, on the scaffold, in January, 1793, for the performance of which last act he must nevertheless have been prepared, by all the aids of reflection, and all the supports of religion, he did not comport himself with the serenity and self possession that characterized Charles the First, and Mary, Queen of Scots, when laying down their heads on the Block. It must however be admitted on the other hand, that the Guillotine, which was only an atrocious revolutionary engine, invented not so much to abbreviate the sufferings of the condemned individual, as to facilitate the dispatch of a number of victims with certainty, in a shorter space of time; bereaved death of all its grace and dignity. I have likewise seen and read very strong attestations to the firmness displayed by the King of France in his last moments. On the 26th of January 1793, the day on which the official account of his

execution arrived in London; being alone with the Duke of Dorset, at St. James's Palace, he received a note, which he immediately shewed me, and which I copied on the spot. It contained these words.

"Paris, 21st January, 12 o'clock.

"The unfortunate Louis is no more. He suffered death this morning, at ten o'clock, with the most heroic courage."

"To the Duke of Dorset."

The note had no signature, but the Duke told me that he knew both the hand-writing and the writer. Yet I have been assured that Louis attempted to resist or impede the executioners; who, impatient to finish the performance, used a degree of violence, threw him down forcibly on the plank, in which act his face was torn, and finally thrust him under the Guillotine. Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth, each, exhibited in turn, one, the Heroism of an elevated mind; the other, the calm resignation of a Martyr, under the same circumstances. Even the Duke of Orleans, covered as he was with crimes and turpitudes, yet derived from despair a species of affirmative

courage, hurried to the place of execution, and rushed upon his fate.

In the Summer of 1776, when I quitted France, Marie Antoinette may be said to have reached the summit of her beauty, and of her popularity. Her favour with the Nation declined from the period of her brother, the Emperor Joseph the Second's visit to Paris, in 1777; after which interview, her enemies, with equal falsity and malignity, accused her of sacrificing both the treasures and the interests of the French Monarchy, to her Austrian connexions. Her personal charms consisted more in her elevated manner, lofty demeanour, and graces of deportment, all which announced a Queen, than in her features, which wanted softness and regularity. She had besides weak or inflamed eyes: but, her complexion, which was fine, aided by youth and all the ornaments of dress, imposed on the beholder. In the national estimation, her greatest defect at this period of life, consisted in her sterility; she having been married full six years, without any apparent prospect of issue. But, Anne of Austria had remained near two and twenty years under the same

reproach, before she brought into the world Louis the Fourteenth. The Count de Provence was likewise destitute of any children, though as early as 1771 he had espoused a daughter of the King of Sardinia; while the Count d'Artois, youngest of the three brothers, married to another Princess of Savoy, was already a father. His son, born in 1775, had been created Duke d'Angouleme. Both the King and the Count de Provence, were then generally regarded, in different ways, as equally inapt for the purposes of marriage. It had, nevertheless, been ascertained that Louis the Sixteenth laboured under no impediment for perpetuating his race, except a slight defect in his Organization, easily susceptible of relief by a surgical operation; but, to undergo which, he for a long time manifested great repugnance. The importance of the case, and the pressing instances which were made to him, having at length, however, surmounted his scruples, he submitted to it; and the Queen lay in of a daughter, in December, 1778, whose unmerited sufferings and virtues have justly endeared her to all Europe. But, Marie Antoinette did not produce a Dauphin till several years later.

Of the three Royal brothers, the Count d'Artois had been cast by Nature in the most graceful mould. All the dignity of Louis the Fourteenth had descended to him. His elder brother, the Count de Provence, who resembled the King in his person, was less known to the Nation, in 1776, than either of the others. Moderate in his character, and of retired habits; possessing a strong mind, but destitute of brilliant or of dangerous talents, he approved himself the most submissive of subjects. Both the younger Princes resided constantly at Versailles, in the Royal Palace; accompanied the King, whenever he repaired to Compiégne or to Fontainbleau; commonly attended him at Mass, as well as to the chace; and never absented themselves, even on an excursion to Paris, without his permission. Philip, Duke de Chartres, too well known to us by his vindictive and criminal political intrigues, which at a more recent period have conduced, in so great a degree, to the subversion of the House of Bourbon; was already fallen, in 1776, under the public condemnation or contempt. He had then been married several years, to the sole daughter and heiress of

the Duke de Penthiévre, last male of the illegitimate descendants of Louis the Fourteenth; and the popular voice accused him of having plunged the Prince de Lamballe, his brother-in-law, the Duke de Penthiévre's only son, into the debaucheries which terminated his life in the flower of his age. That young Prince espoused, at a very early period, one of the Princesses of Carignan, collaterally descended from the House of Savoy; whose tragical end in 1792, forms a revolting feature of the great act of blood, denominated "The French Revolution." As the Prince de Lamballe left no issue; the Duke de Chartres was asserted to have accelerated, or rather to have produced his death, from the sordid, as well as detestable motive of inheriting, in right of his Consort, the vast estates of Penthiévre. However destitute of proof, and perhaps even of just foundation, may have been this imputation; yet the character and notorious profligacy of the Duke, obtained for it universal belief. Affecting to emulate the Regent Duke of Orleans, his great Grandfather's example, whose portrait was always suspended close to his Bed; he only imitated that Prince in the licentious depravity of his manners, and the

abandoned nature of his amours. The Regent, whether in Italy, where he was wounded in 1706, in the trenches before Turin; in Spain, where he commanded the French armies with distinguished lustre; or at home, while conducting the helm of affairs, during the Minority of Louis the Fifteenth; whatever vices he displayed, redeemed them in some measure by his valour, loyalty, and capacity. His degenerate descendant incurred the abhorrence of all Europe, overturned the throne of France, perished by the axe, and may be esteemed the most atrocious, as well as flagitious individual who has arisen in modern ages, for the calamity of mankind, with the single exception of Bonaparte.

Returning to England, in the summer of 1776, I went down soon afterwards, on a visit to Lord Nugent, at Gosfield in Essex; a seat which has since, in the revolutionary events of the present times, afforded a temporary Asylum to the representative of the Capetian line, when expelled from a country over which his ancestors had reigned, in uninterrupted male succession, for above eight hundred years! When I visited Gosfield, among

the guests who attracted most attention, might justly be reckoned the late Lord Temple, then far advanced in life, and very infirm. In his person he was tall and large, though not inclined to corpulency. A disorder, the seat of which lay in his ribs, bending him almost double, compelled him, in walking, to make use of a sort of crutch: but his mind seemed exempt from any decay. His conversation was animated, brilliant, and full of entertainment. Notwithstanding the nick-name of "Squire Gawkey," which he had obtained in the satirical, or party productions of those times, and which, we may presume, was not given him without good reason; he had nevertheless the air and appearance of a man of high condition, when he appeared with the Insignia and Decorations of the *Garter*, seated at table. It is well known that George the Second, who, though he generally yielded to Ministerial violence or importunity, yet manifested often great reluctance and even ill humor, in his manner of compliance on these occasions, strongly disliked Lord Temple. Being however compelled, in consequence of political arrangements very repugnant to his feelings, to invest that Noblemen with the Order of the *Garter*, the King took so little pains to

conceal his aversion both to the individual, and to the act; that instead of placing the Riband decorously over the shoulder of the new Knight, His Majesty, averting his head, and muttering indistinctly, some expressions of dissatisfaction, threw it across him, and turned his back at the same instant, in the rudest manner. George the Third, on such occasions, possessed or exerted more restraint over his passions, than his grandfather. Yet even he did not always execute the commands of his Minister, where they were disagreeable or revolting to him, without displaying some reluctance. The late Duke of Dorset told me, that being present at the ceremony of investing the present Marquis Camden with the *Garter*, where the Duke assisted as a Knight Companion of the Order; His Majesty, who felt no little unwillingness to confer it on him, betrayed a considerable degree of ill humor in his countenance and manner. However, as he knew that it must be performed, Mr. Pitt having pertinaciously insisted on it; the King took the Riband in his hand, and turning to the Duke, before the New Knight approached, asked of him, if he knew Lord Camden's Christian name. The Duke, after enquiring, informed him that it was John Jefferies.

"What! What!" replied the King; "John "Jefferies! the first Knight of the *Garter*, I "believe, that ever was called John Jefferies." The aversion of George the Second towards Lord Temple, originated partly in personal, but, more from political motives or feelings. His present Majesty's disinclination to confer the *Garter* on Lord Camden, probably arose merely from considering his descent as not sufficiently illustrious. But, the great talents and qualities of the first Earl, had diffused a lustre over the name of *Pratt*. To these endowments of the father, the son originally owed the dignity of the Peerage, which devolved on him. To Mr. Pitt's friendship, he was subsequently indebted for the distinction of the *Garter*.

Lord Nugent was created an Irish *Earl*, during the time that I was at Gosfield, having antecedently been raised to the title of *Viscount* Clare. He formed a striking contrast to Lord Temple, in his manners and address. Of an athletic frame, and a vigorous constitution, though very far advanced in years, he was exempt from infirmity; possessing a Stentorian voice, with great animal spirits, and vast powers of conversation. He was

indeed a man of very considerable natural abilities, though not of a very cultivated mind. His talents seemed more adapted to active, than to speculative life; to the Drawing Room, or the House of Commons, than to the closet. Having sat in many Parliaments, he spoke fluently, as well as with energy and force; was accounted a good Debater, and possessed a species of eloquence, altogether unembarrassed by any false modesty or timidity. In the progress of a long life, he had raised himself from a private gentleman, of an antient family in Ireland, and a considerable patrimonial fortune, to an Irish Earldom; which dignity, together with his name, he procured to devolve on the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Mr. Grenville, who had married his only daughter. They were both likewise at Gosfield, during the time of which I speak; and Lord Nugent having gone up to town, for the purpose of kissing the King's hand, upon his new Creation, returned from thence on the following day, as we were seated at table, after dinner. The object of his visit to St. James's, was well known by every one present; but he immediately announced it, as soon as he had taken his place, by filling out a glass of wine, and toasting his daughter's health as *Lady Mary* Grenville.

Lord Nugent, when young, had occupied a distinguished place in the favor of Frederic, Prince of Wales; and was more than once destined to have filled an office in some of those imaginary Administrations, commemorated by Dodington, which were perpetually fabricated at Leicester House, during the long interval between the accession of George the Second, and His Royal Highness's decease, in 1751. The Prince died considerably in his debt; nor was the sum so due, ever liquidated, unless we consider the offices and dignities conferred on Lord Nugent by George the Third, at different periods of his reign, as having been in the nature of a retribution for loans made to his father. In return for these marks of royal favour, he presented verses to the Queen, accompanying a piece of Irish Stuff, which Her Majesty graciously accepted. Both the poetry, and the manufacture, were satirically said to be *Irish Stuff*. They began, if I recollect right,

> "Could poor Ierné gifts afford,
> Worthy the mistress of her lord,
> Of sculptur'd gold, a costly frame,
> Just emblem of her worth should flame."

But Lord Nugent's Muse will never rank

him with *Prior*, nor even with Lyttelton and Chesterfield. He was a better Courtier, than a Poet; and he had always been distinguished by the other Sex. *Glover*, when speaking of him, says, "Nugent, a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery, for the Protestant religion, money, and widows." His first wife, Lady Amelia Plunket, daughter of the Earl of Fingal, brought him only one son, Colonel Nugent, who died, many years before his father. Mrs. Knight, sister and heiress of the celebrated Craggs, Secretary of State under George the First, buried in Westminster Abbey; (and who is immortalized by Pope's Epitaph on him, more perhaps, than by his talents, or his actions;) was Lord Nugent's second wife. She brought him neither felicity nor issue; but she brought him the house and estate at Gosfield, one of the finest in Essex. To the late Countess Dowager of Berkeley, he gave his hand a third time; though not under fortunate Auspices, nor in a happy hour. The late Marchioness of Buckingham was the only issue of this match, recognized by Lord Nugent. But, his devotion to the Sex, which remained proof to all trials, animated him even to the close of life. Lord Temple and he, both, composed verses,

after this time, addressed to the same object. I believe it was in the month of August, 1776, that these aged Peers presented some couplets of their respective compositions, to the late Duchess of Gordon, then in the Meridian of her charms; when Lord Temple, having entertained her and the Duke at Stow, lighted up the Grotto for her reception. Lord Nugent, to a perfect knowledge of the world, joined a coarse and often licentious, but natural, strong, and ready wit, which no place, nor company, prevented him from indulging; and the effect of which was augmented by an Irish Accent that never forsook him. It is well known, that when a *Bill* was introduced into the House of Commons, for better watching the Metropolis; in order to contribute towards effecting which object, one of the Clauses went to propose, that Watchmen should be *compelled* to sleep during the day-time; Lord Nugent, with admirable humour, got up, and desired that "he might be personally included in the provisions of the Bill, being frequently so tormented with the Gout, as to be *unable* to sleep either by day, or by night."

While I am on this subject, I cannot resist

relating a frolick, which rendered Lord Nugent, or rather Mr. Nugent, he being then a Commoner, not a little distinguished, towards the end of George the Second's reign. George, Earl of Bristol, eldest of the three sons of the famous Lord Hervey, whom Pope has, very unjustly, transmitted to posterity, as "Lord Fanny," and as "Sporus;" like his father, inclined to a degree of effeminacy, in his person, manners, and dress. Probably, these characteristics of deportment, while they exposed him to some animadversion or ridicule, led to a supposition that they were connected with want of spirit; and that he would not promptly resent insult. Certain it is that Mr. Nugent, then a man of consideration, fortune, and fashion, living in the highest company of the Metropolis; being one evening at Lord Temple's house in Pall-Mall, where a splendid assembly of both sexes was collected; laid a singular bet with Lord Temple, that he would spit in the Earl of Bristol's hat. The wager was accepted, and Mr. Nugent instantly set about its accomplishment. For this purpose, as he passed Lord Bristol, who stood in the door-way of one of the apartments, very richly dressed, holding his hat under his arm, with the inside uppermost;

Mr. Nugent, turning round as if to spit, and affecting not to perceive Lord Bristol, performed that act in his hat.

Pretending the utmost concern and distress at the unintentional rudeness that he had committed, Mr. Nugent made a thousand apologies to the Earl for his Indecorum, and entreated to be allowed to wipe off the affront with his pocket handkerchief: but, Lord Bristol calmly taking out his own, used it for that purpose; besought Mr. Nugent not to be discomposed; assured him that he was not discomposed, himself; wiped the inside of his hat; and then replacing it as before, under his arm, asked Mr. Nugent whether he had any farther occasion for it in the same way? Having so done, the Earl, without changing a muscle of his countenance, or manifesting any irritation, quitted the place where he stood; sat down to play with the party he usually made at cards, finished his two or three Rubbers, and returned home. Mr. Nugent, after triumphantly winning his Bet, considered the matter as terminated; but in this supposition he counted without his host. Early on the following morning, before he was risen, he received a note, similar in its nature and

contents to that which Gil Blas tells us he delivered to his master, Don Mathias de Sylva; but, with the summons contained in which, Mr. Nugent did not manifest the same careless promptitude to comply, as the Spanish Grandee exhibited, in the Novel of Le Sage. The Note acquainted him, that Lord Bristol expected and demanded Satisfaction for the insult of the preceding night, without delay; naming time, as well as place. An instant answer was required.

Mr. Nugent now perceived that he had involved himself in a very serious affair of Honour, where he had only meant to gratify a wanton moment of frolick. However personally brave, he felt that the Exertion of his Courage, in order to cover or justify a premeditated insult, which nothing could warrant or excuse, would only aggravate his offence. Under this impression, having determined therefore to make reparation, he wrote to Lord Bristol, offering every possible Apology for the act committed; which, he admitted, would be inexcusable, if it had been meant as any Affront. But, as the best extenuation of so gross a seeming violation of all decorum, he added, that it did not

arise from the most remote intention of insulting the Earl, the whole Matter having originated in a Bet. He concluded by professing his readiness to ask pardon in the most ample manner; requesting that the business might not produce any further consequences. To this Application Lord Bristol replied, that though he was disposed readily to admit, and to accept the proffered Reparation; yet, as the Affront had been committed in public company, so must the exacted Apology be made; and he named the Club-room at White's, as the place where he would receive it from Mr. Nugent. Not, however, by any means, Lord Bristol added, from him only; for, as he now understood that the Act owed its rise to a wager, it became clear that there must be another person implicated in the Transaction. He insisted therefore, on knowing the name of that individual, from whom, as a participator in the Frolick, he should equally exact an Apology; and declaring that on no other conditions would he relinquish his right to demand personal satisfaction. In consequence of so peremptory a Requisition, Mr. Nugent owned, that Lord Temple was the person to whom he had alluded; and both the Gentlemen were finally reduced to

comply with the terms, by asking pardon in the Club-room at White's. Lord Bristol then declared himself satisfied, and the Business at an end.

The late Lord Sackville told me, that when young, he was well acquainted with Lord Mark Kerr; a Nobleman whose person being, like Lord Bristol's, cast by Nature in a very delicate mould, sometimes subjected him among strangers, to insults, from a supposition that a man of so feminine a figure, would not be prone to resent an affront. In this calculation they were however egregiously deceived, he being a person of decided courage. Shortly after the battle of Dettingen, during the Summer of the year 1743, the Earl of Stair, then commanding the British forces in Germany, under George the Second, entertained at his table several French Officers, who had been taken prisoners in that engagement. A numerous company sat down to dinner, in the tent of the Commander-in-chief, among whom was Lord Mark; who being son to the Marquis of Lothian, and nearly related to Lord Stair, acted as one of his Aides du Camp. Lord Sackville was present on the occasion.

A difference of opinion having arisen during the repast, on some point which was maintained by one of the French Officers with great pertinacity; Lord Mark Kerr, in a very gentle tone of voice, ventured to set him right on the matter of fact. But, the Frenchman, inconscious of his quality, and perhaps thinking that a frame so delicate, did not enclose a high spirit; contradicted him in the most gross terms, such as are neither used nor submitted to among Gentlemen. The circumstance took place so near to Lord Stair as unavoidably to attract his attention. No notice whatever was taken of it at the time, and after dinner the company adjourned to another tent, where Coffee was served. Lord Mark coming in about a quarter of an hour later than the others, Lord Stair no sooner observed him, than calling him aside, "Nephew," said he, "I think it is impossible for you to pass "by the affront that you received from the "French Officer at my table. You must "demand satisfaction, however much I re-"gret the necessity for it." "Oh, My "Lord," answered Lord Mark, "you need "not be under any uneasiness on that subject. "We have already fought. I ran him through

" the body. He died on the spot, and they " are at this moment about to bury him. I " knew too well what I owed to myself, and " I was too well convinced of your Lord- " ship's way of thinking, to lose a mo- " ment in calling the Officer to account."

I passed the ensuing Winter, of 1776-7, in London; a period which is now so distant, and the manners, as well as the inhabitants of the Metropolis, have undergone since that time, so total a change, that they no longer preserve almost any similarity. The sinister events of the American war, had already begun to shed a degree of political gloom over the Capital and the kingdom; but this cloud bore no comparison with the terror and alarm that pervaded the firmest minds in 1792, and 1793, after the first burst of the French Revolution, and the commencement of the Continental war in Flanders. In 1777, we in fact only contended for Empire and Dominion. No fears of subversion, extinction, and subjugation to foreign violence, or revolutionary arts, interrupted the general tranquillity of society. It was subjected, indeed, to other fetters, from which we have since emancipated ourselves; those

of dress, Etiquette, and form. The lapse of two Centuries could scarcely have produced a greater alteration in these particulars, than have been made by about forty years. That Costume, which is now confined to the Levee, or Drawing-room, was then worn by persons of condition, with few exceptions, every where, and every day. Mr. Fox and his friends, who might be said to dictate to the Town, affecting a style of neglect about their persons, and manifesting a contempt of all the usages hitherto established, first threw a sort of discredit on Dress. From the House of Commons, and the Clubs in St. James's Street, it spread through the private Assemblies of London. But, though gradually undermined, and insensibly perishing of an Atrophy, Dress never totally fell, till the Era of Jacobinism and of Equality, in 1793, and 1794. It was then that Pantaloons, cropped hair, and shoe-strings, as well as the total abolition of buckles and ruffles, together with the disuse of hair-powder, characterized the men: while ladies, having cut off those Tresses, which had done so much execution, and one lock of which purloined, gave rise to the finest model of mock-heroic Poetry, which our own, or any other language can boast; exhibited heads

rounded "*a la Victime et a la Guillotine*," as if ready for the stroke of the axe. A drapery, more suited to the climate of Greece or of Italy, than to the temperature of an Island situate in the fifty-first degree of Latitude; classic, elegant, luxurious, and picturesque, but ill calculated to protect against damp, cold, and fogs; superseded the ancient female attire of Great Britain; finally levelling or obliterating almost all external distinction between the highest and the lowest of the sex, in this country. Perhaps, with all its incumbrances, penalties, and inconveniences, it will be found necessary, at some not very distant period, to revive, in a certain degree, the empire of Dress.

At the time of which I speak, the "*Gens de Lettres*," or "Blue Stockings," as they were commonly denominated, formed a very numerous, powerful, compact Phalanx, in the midst of London. Into this society, the two publications which I had recently given to the world; one, on the Northern Kingdoms of Europe; the other, on the History of France, under the Race of Valois; however destitute of merit, yet facilitated and procured my admission. Mrs. Montague was then

the Madame *du Deffand* of the English Capital; and her house constituted the central point of union, for all those persons who already were known, or who emulated to become known, by their talents and productions. Her supremacy, unlike that of Madame *du Deffand*, was, indeed, established on more solid foundations than those of intellect, and rested on more tangible materials than any with which Shakespear himself could furnish her. Though she had not as yet begun to construct the splendid Mansion, in which she afterwards resided, near Portman Square, she lived in a very elegant house in Hill Street. Impressed probably, from the suggestions of her own knowledge of the world, with a deep conviction of that great truth laid down by Moliere, which no Man of Letters ever disputed; that "*Le vrai Amphytrion est celui chez qui l'on dine;*" Mrs. Montague was accustomed to open her house to a large company of both sexes, whom she frequently entertained at dinner. A service of plate, and a table plentifully covered, disposed her guests to admire the splendor of her fortune, not less than the lustre of her talents. She had found the same results flowing from the same causes, during the visit

that she made to Paris, after the Peace of 1763; where she displayed to the astonished *Literati* of that Metropolis, the extent of her pecuniary, as well as of her mental resources. As this topic formed one of the subjects most gratifying to her, she was easily induced to launch out on it, with much apparent complacency. The Eulogiums lavished on her Repasts, and the astonishment expressed at the magnitude of her income, which appeared prodigiously augmented by being transformed from Pounds Sterling into French Livres; seemed to have afforded her as much gratification, as the Panegyrics bestowed upon the "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespear."

Mrs. Montague, in 1776, verged towards her sixtieth year; but her person, which was thin, spare, and in good preservation, gave her an appearance of less antiquity. From the infirmities often attendant on advanced life, she seemed to be almost wholly exempt. All the lines of her countenance bespoke intelligence, and her eyes were accommodated to her cast of features, which had in them something satirical and severe, rather than amiable or inviting. She possessed great na-

tural cheerfulness, and a flow of animal spirits; loved to talk, and talked well on almost every subject; led the conversation, and was qualified to preside in her circle, whatever subject of discourse was started: but her manner was more dictatorial and sententious, than conciliating or diffident. There was nothing feminine about her; and though her opinions were usually just, as well as delivered in language suited to give them force, yet the organ which conveyed them, was not musical. Destitute of taste in disposing the ornaments of her dress, she nevertheless studied or affected those aids, more than would seem to have become a woman professing a philosophic mind, intent on higher pursuits than the Toilet. Even when approaching to fourscore, this female weakness still accompanied her; nor could she relinquish her diamond necklace and bows, which, like Sir William Draper's "blushing riband," commemorated by "Junius," formed of evenings, the perpetual ornament of her emaciated person. I used to think that these glittering appendages of opulence, sometimes helped to dazzle the disputants, whom her arguments might not always convince, or her literary reputation intimidate. That reputation had not as yet

received the rude attack made on it by Dr. Johnson at a subsequent period, when he appears to have treated with much irreverence, her "Essay on Shakespear," if we may believe Boswell. Notwithstanding the defects and weaknesses that I have enumerated, she possessed a masculine understanding, enlightened, cultivated, and expanded by the acquaintance of men, as well as of books. Many of the most illustrious persons in rank, no less than in ability, under the reigns of George the Second and Third, had been her correspondents, friends, companions, and admirers. Pulteney, Earl of Bath, whose portrait hung over the chimney piece in her drawing room; and George, the first Lord Lyttelton, so eminent for his genius, were among the number. She was constantly surrounded by all that was distinguished for attainments or talents, male or female, English or foreign; and it would be almost ungrateful in me not to acknowledge the gratification, derived from the conversation and intercourse of such a society.

Though Mrs. Montague occupied the first place among the "*beaux Esprits*" at this period, she was not without female competitors for so eminent a distinction. Mrs. Vesey

might indeed be said to hold the second rank: but, unlike Mademoiselle *de l'Espinasse* at Paris, who raised a separate literary standard from Madame *du Deffand;* Mrs. Vesey only aspired to follow, at a humble distance, the brilliant track of Mrs. Montague. The former rather seemed desirous to assemble persons of celebrity and talents, under her roof, or at her table, than assumed or pretended to form one of them, herself. Though not lodged with the same magnificence as Mrs. Montague; yet she entertained with less form, as well as less ostentation. Mrs. Vesey's repasts were at once more select, and more delicate. Farther advanced in life than Mrs. Montague, she possessed no personal advantages of manner, and studied no ornaments of dress. Simplicity, accompanied by a sort of oblivious inattention to things passing under her very sight, characterized her. In absence of mind, indeed, she might almost be said to equal the Duke de Brancas, Chamberlain to Anne of Austria, relative to whose continual violation of common rules, Madame de Sevigné has consigned to us so many amusing Anecdotes. With Mrs. Vesey this forgetfulness extended to such a point, that she sometimes hardly remembered her own name. It will scarcely

be credited, that she could declaim against second marriages, to a Lady of Quality who had been twice married, and though Mr. Vesey was her own second husband. When at last reminded of the circumstance, she only exclaimed, " Bless me, my dear, I had " quite forgotten it!" There was, indeed, some decay of mind in such want of recollection. Her sister-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, and who formed, physically, as well as morally, a perfect contrast to Mrs. Vesey, superintended all domestic arrangements. From their opposite figures, qualities, and endowments, the one was called " Body," the other " Mind."

In these two houses might then be seen many or most of the persons of both sexes, eminent for literary attainments, or celebrity of any kind. Mrs. Thrale, still better known by the name of Mrs. Piozzi, was to be met with frequently in this society, followed or attended by Mr. Thrale, and by Dr. Johnson. Of the former, it is unnecessary to say any thing; and relative to the last, after the laboured, minute portraits which have been drawn of him, under every attitude, what is it possible to say new? I will freely confess

that his rugged exterior and garb, his uncouth gestures, his convolutions and distortions, when added to the rude or dogmatical manner in which he delivered his opinions and decisions on every point; — rendered him so disagreable in company, and so oppressive in conversation, that all the superiority of his talents could not make full amends, in my estimation, for these defects. In his anger, or even in the warmth of argument, where he met with opposition, he often respected neither age, rank, nor sex; and the usages of polished life imposed a very inadequate restraint on his expressions, or his feelings. What are we to think of a man, who, by the testimony of his own Biographer, denominated Lord Russel and Algernon Sidney, "rascals;" qualified Pennant by the Epithet of "a dog," because in his political opinions he was a Whig; gave to Fielding, the appellations of "a blockhead, and a barren rascal;" and in speaking of King William the Third, always termed him "a scoundrel?" If not irascible, he was certainly dictatorial, coarse, and sometimes almost impracticable. Those whom he could not always vanquish by the force of his intellect, by the depth and range of his arguments, and by the compass of his gigantic faculties, he silenced

by rudeness; and I have, myself, more than once, stood in the predicament which I here describe. Yet, no sooner was he withdrawn, and with him had disappeared these personal imperfections, than the sublime attainments of his mind left their full effect on the audience: for such, the whole assembly might be in some measure esteemed, while he was present. His beautiful compositions, both prose and poetical, the unquestionable benevolence and philanthropy of his character, his laborious and useful, as well as voluminous and toilsome productions, when added to his literary fame and pre-eminence; — all these combined qualities so overbore or subdued, the few who ventured to contend with him, that submission or silence formed the only protection, and the ordinary refuge, to which they had recourse.

We never can enough regret, that a man who possessed such poetic talents as are displayed in his two Imitations of Juvenal; "London," and the "Vanity of Human Wishes;" should have neglected that Branch of Composition, in which he might have attained to such comprehensive eminence. If Pope's Imitations of Horace, have more sua-

vity, delicacy, and taste, than Johnson's productions can boast; the latter breathe a spirit of sublime and severe morality, mingled with a philosophic grandeur of thought, which is equally captivating, as it is impressive and instructive. How admirable is his picture of *Charles the Twelfth*, as opposed to that of *Hannibal!* How fine is the Comparison between *Wolsey* and *Sejanus!* What can exceed the judgment shewn in selecting *Charles the Seventh*, the Bavarian Emperor of 1741, as opposed to the *Xerxes* of the Roman Satirist! The English language offers, perhaps, nothing more chaste, correct, and yet harmonious, than these Verses, which are free from any pedantry, or affectation of learning. The fact, however is, that Johnson did not dare to yield to the seductions of the Muse, or to abandon himself to the Inspiration of Poetry. He was compelled to restrain his efforts, to the more temperate walk of Prose, however capable he felt himself to be of emulating Addison, or Gray, or Pope. It is well known, that he was constitutionally subject to a melancholy, morbid humour, which, advancing with his years, approached, on certain occasions, to something like alienation of mind. Well aware of this infirmity, he

was apprehensive of its effects. Topham Beauclerk, who lived in great intimacy with him, often expressed to him the astonishment and regret, naturally excited by his apparent neglect of such Poetic Powers as Nature had conferred on him. Johnson heard him in silence, or made little reply to these remonstrances. But, on Mr. Beauclerk's making the same remark to Mr. Thrale, that gentleman immediately answered, that "the "real reason why Johnson did not apply his "faculties to Poetry, was, that he dared not "trust himself in such a pursuit, his mind "not being equal to the species of Inspira-"tion which Verse demands; though in the "walk of prose composition, whether moral, "philological, or biographical, he could con-"tinue his labours, without apprehension of "any injurious consequences."

If, nevertheless, after rendering due homage to his paramount abilities, which no testimony of mine can affect, I might venture to criticise so eminent a person, as having been deficient in any particular branch of Information and polite knowledge, I should say that his deficiency lay in History. Boswell has very aptly compared his understanding to a

mill, into which subjects were thrown, in order to be ground. And Mrs. Piozzi somewhere remarks, in better language than I can do it by memory, that "his mind resembled a royal "pleasure garden, within whose ample dimen- "sions every thing subservient to dignity, "beauty, or utility, was to be found, from the "stately cedar down to the lowliest plant or "herb." That this assertion, if loosely and generally taken, is perfectly just, no person can dispute, who knew him. That he was even thoroughly conversant in the modern history of Europe, for the last two or three Centuries, is incontestable; and still less will it be denied, that he intimately knew all the classic periods of Greek and Roman story, most of which he had studied or perused in the original writers. But, these attainments he shared with many of his contemporaries. In the history of Europe during the middle Ages, by which I mean, from the destruction of the Roman Empire in the West, in the year 476, through the ten Centuries that elapsed before the revival of letters, I always thought him very imperfectly versed; if not, on some portions, uninformed and ignorant. To have compared his knowledge, on these subjects, with the information which Gibbon, or which Robert-

son possessed, would have been an insult to truth. But, as far as I could ever presume to form an opinion, he was much below either Burke, or Fox, in all general historical information.

Even as a Biographer, which is a minor species of History, Johnson, however masterly, profound, and acute, in all that relates to criticism, to discrimination, and to dissection of literary merit; has always appeared to me to have wanted many essential qualities, or to have evinced great inaccuracy and neglect. I do not mean to speak of his prejudices and political partialities, which hardly allow him to do justice to Milton, or to Addison, because the one was a Republican, and the other a Whig; just as he calls Hampden, "the Zealot of Rebellion:" I allude to errors, which could only have arisen from an ignorance of facts, with which he might and ought to have been acquainted. What shall we say, when we find him telling us, that Stepney, the Poet, "was invited into public life by the Duke of Dorset?" The event in question must have taken place about 1683, towards the end of Charles the Second's reign. But, the creation of the Dukedom of Dorset only

originated under George the First, in 1720. In like manner he informs us, that Prior published about 1706, "a volume of poems, with "the encomiastic character of his deceased "patron, the *Duke* of Dorset." No doubt he means to speak of Charles, *Earl* of Dorset, who died nearly at that time. His mistakes, or his omissions and defect of information, in the life of that distinguished Nobleman, are much more gross. Johnson makes him succeed to James Cranfield, *second* Earl of Middlesex, in 1674, his uncle; who was already dead, many years antecedent. It was the *third* Earl of Middlesex, *Lionel*, to whose estates and title the Earl of Dorset succeeded, or was raised by Charles the Second. On all the interesting particulars of his marriages, his private life, and his decease, relative to which objects curiosity must be so naturally and warmly excited, the Biographer is either silent or misinformed. I may be told, that these inaccuracies, chiefly chronological, are of little moment. So is it, whether the great Duke of Marlborough died in 1722, or in 1723. But, he who undertakes to compose an account of Churchill's life, is bound to know, and accurately to relate, all the leading facts that attended, or distinguished it. Johnson,

we may be assured, would have been, himself, the first to detect and to expose such errors in another writer.

Mrs. Thrale always appeared to me, to possess at least as much Information, a mind as cultivated, and more wit than Mrs. Montague; but she did not descend among men from such an eminence, and she talked much more, as well as more unguardedly, on every subject. She was the Provider and the Conductress of Johnson, who lived almost constantly under her roof, or more properly, under that of Mr. Thrale, both in town and at Streatham. He did not, however, spare her, more than other women, in his Attacks, if she courted or provoked his Animadversion. As little did he appear to respect or to manage Garrick, who frequently made one of the assembly. His presence always diffused a gaiety over the room; but he seemed to shrink from too near a contact with Johnson, whose superiority of mind, added to the roughness and closeness of his hugs, reduced Garrick to act on the defensive. Mrs. Carter, so well known by her erudition, the Madame *Dacier* of England; from her religious cast of character, and gravity of de-

portment, no less than from her intellectual Acquirements, was more formed to impose some check on the asperity or eccentricities of Johnson. Dr. Burney, and his daughter, the author of "Evelina" and "Cecilia," though both were generally present; I always thought, rather avoided, than solicited, notice. Horace Walpole, whenever he appeared there, enriched and illuminated the conversation, by Anecdotes personal and historical; many of which were rendered more curious or interesting, from his having, himself, witnessed their existence, or received them from his father Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Joshua Reynolds, precluded by his deafness from mixing in, or contributing to general conversation; his trumpet held up to his ear, was gratified by the attention of those who addressed to him their discourse; a notice which the resources of his mind enabled him to repay with interest. Mrs. Chapone, under one of the most repulsive exteriors that any woman ever possessed, concealed very superior attainments, and extensive knowledge. Burke, though occupied in the toils of parliamentary discussion, and of ministerial attack, which left him little leisure to bestow on literary men or subjects; yet sometimes unbent his

Faculties among persons adapted by nature to unfold the powers of delighting and instructing, with which genius and study had enriched him. His presence was, however, more coveted, than enjoyed. Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Shipley, afterwards married to Sir William Jones, might be frequently seen there. The Abbé Raynal, who passed that winter in London, was readily admitted, and eagerly courted. It must be confessed that the variety of his Information, and the Facility, as well as Readiness, with which he communicated the stores of his exuberant Memory, would have rendered him a valuable accession to any circle: but his Loquacity generally fatigued even those, whom it delighted and improved. The present Lord Erskine, who, thirty years later, attained to the Great Seal, had not yet commenced his career of Jurisprudence. But, the versatility of his talents, the energy of his character, and the vivacity of his conversation, sufficiently manifested, even at that time, the effect which such a union of Qualities might produce, when powerfully urged and impelled towards one object. Happily for himself, he did not want the strongest impulse,

arising from domestic pledges and embarrassments, well calculated to call out every faculty of the mind. It is curious to reflect, that if he had been born one step higher; if, instead of being the younger son of a Scotch *Earl*, his father had been a *Marquis*, he never could have been called to the Bar. His endowments, however great, assuredly would not, in any other Profession, have raised him to the Peerage, to fortune, and to fame. His celebrity, indeed, if we may believe Mr. Fox's Biographer, had not extended across the Straits of Dover, even in 1802, when the Corsican First Consul appears not to have known his name. Mrs. Boscawen, though inferior in literary Reputation to Mrs. Montague, and perhaps possessed of less general information, yet conciliated more good-will. She had an historical turn of mind; and in the course of a long life passed among the upper circles of society, she had collected and retained a number of curious or interesting Anecdotes of her own Times. Mr. Pepys, now Sir William Pepys, to whose acquaintance and partiality I was not a little indebted, for facilitating my entrance into this Assembly of distinguished Persons, is the last individual whom I shall enumerate.

To a mind adorned with classic images, and conversant with classic authors, he united great colloquial powers. The friend of the first Lord Lyttelton, of Sir James Macdonald, and of Topham Beauclerk, he was in principle a staunch Whig; and as Johnson might be justly esteemed a violent, as well as a bigotted Tory, much political sparring occasionally took place between them, in the progress of which, many sparks of historical or philosophical fire, were elicited on both sides.

Though literary reputation, or acknowledged talents and celebrity of some kind, seemed to constitute the primary title to a place in those conversations, from which every species of play was altogether excluded; yet rank and beauty were to be found there, and contributed to render them interesting. The late Duchess Dowager of Portland, Granddaughter of the Lord Treasurer Oxford, herself a woman of distinguished taste in various branches of art, was a frequent visitant. It was impossible to look on her, without reflecting that while still in early childhood, she had been the object of Swift's poetic attention, and the subject of Prior's expiring Muse.

I have seen the Duchess of Devonshire, then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair. All the Cynic moroseness of the philosopher and the moralist, seemed to dissolve under so flattering an approach; to the gratification and distinction resulting from which, he was nothing less than insensible. We may see in Boswell, how tractable, gentle, and accommodating he became while at Inverary, seated between the Duke and Duchess of Argyle.

It is natural to ask, whether the literary Society of London, at the period of which I am speaking, could enter into any competition for extent of talents, and superiority of attainments, with the Society of Paris, that met at the apartments of Madame *du Deffand*, and of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, under the reigns of Louis the Fifteenth and Sixteenth. In other words, whether the persons who formed the Assemblies in the English Capital, can support a comparison for ability and for fame, with those who were accustomed to meet in the French Metropolis. If I were to presume to give an opinion on this question, I should have

no hesitation in saying, that neither in the period of its duration, nor in the number, merit, or intellectual eminence of the principal members, can the English Society be held up on any parity with that of France. The latter Assemblies may be said to have lasted near half a Century, from 1725, or 1730, down to 1775, or 1780, either in the Houses of Madame *du Deffand*, or of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, or in both. The "Blue Stocking" Assemblies at Mrs. Montague's and Mrs. Vesey's, remained in their brilliant state, only for about fifteen years, from 1770, to 1785. Before the last of those periods, Mrs. Vesey had yielded to the progress of time, and of infirmity; while Mrs. Thrale, become Mrs. Piozzi, had removed from the banks of the Thames, to those of the Arno. Mrs. Montague, indeed, survived; and her dinners, as well as her assemblies, were perpetuated to a very late period of her life; but the charm and the impulse that propelled them, had disappeared. They were principally supported by, and they fell with, the giant talents of Johnson, who formed the *nucleus*, round which all the subordinate members revolved. It became impossible, after his decease in 1786, to supply his place. Burke, as I have already

observed, had more powerful avocations, and aspired to other honors and emoluments, than those which mere literary distinction could bestow on him. Hume, and Adam Smith, men of superior endowments, who might have contributed to support such a society, had retired to Scotland, or were already dead. Robertson resided at Edinburgh, and only visited London occasionally, on business. Gibbon, I believe, never emulated to be a member of these assemblies, and never attended them. He, too, like Burke, looked more to politics, than to letters, for his substantial recompense; being at once a Member of the House of Commons, and a Lord of Trade. Perhaps, indeed, the freedom of Hume's, and of Gibbon's printed opinions on subjects connected with religion, might have rendered their admission difficult, or their society distasteful, to the principal persons who composed these parties; where nothing like a relaxation on points so serious, found protection or support. Johnson, who, as we know, had so great a repugnance to every species of Scepticism on matters of religious belief, that when composing his Dictionary, he would not cite *Hobbes*, the celebrated philosopher, as an authority for any word or expression used by

by that writer, merely because he held *Hobbes*'s principles in aversion; — Johnson, who blamed *Tyers*, for only doing justice to *Hume*, upon parts of his character wholly unconnected with his writings; and who said, that "he should just as soon have thought of "praising a mad dog;" — *he* would hardly have remained in the same room with Hume and Gibbon; though when taken once by a sort of surprize, he did not refuse to dine in company with Wilkes, of whom he had nevertheless, previously said, that "he would as "soon dine with Jack Ketch, as with Jack "Wilkes."

The case was widely different in Paris, where no political pursuits distracted men of letters; and where infidelity, or even Materialism, far from exciting alienation, would rather have conduced to recommend to notice, the persons professing such tenets. Among the Constellation of eminent men and women, who met at Madame *du Deffand's*, and at Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse's*, the greater number were, indeed, avowedly "*des Esprits forts;*" in other words, Free Thinkers, who not content with being so themselves, endeavoured to make proselytes by their writings. It is evi-

dent therefore, that the circle in London, was, from various causes, necessarily much more contracted, than in France; where every person distinguished by talents, with few exceptions, commonly resided altogether in the Capital. For Voltaire was virtually banished beyond the French confines, by the government; and lived in the territory of Geneva, more by constraint, than by choice or inclination. Rousseau was a Genevese by birth, and only visited Paris from time to time. After stating these facts, which may explain the causes of the superiority of the literary society, or Assemblies of Paris, over those of London; it would be idle to contest that they altogether eclipsed ours, in almost every point of genius, science, and intellectual attainment. Who in fact, met at Mrs. Montague's, or at Mrs. Vesey's, that can compete with the names of Maupertuis, Helvetius, Montesquiou, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Madame du Chatelet, the Marquis d'Argens, Mademoiselle de Launay, the President Henault, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condamine, the Duchess de Choiseul, Marmontel, Raynal, the Duke de Nivernois, Marivaux, the Abbé Barthelemi, Turgot, Condorcet, and so many other illustrious persons of both sexes, who composed the Literati of the

French Metropolis? We can scarcely be said to have any thing to oppose to such a cloud of eminent persons, except the single name of Johnson.

There seems, indeed, to be something in the National character of the French; at least there was so previous to the temporary extinction of the ancient Monarchy, and the reign of Jacobinism, or military Despotism; more congenial to these mixed assemblies of persons of literary endowments, than is found among us. From the middle of the seventeenth Century, as long ago as the Regency of Anne of Austria, we find that such meetings existed at Paris, and enjoyed a great degree of celebrity. The Hotel de Rambouillet, as early as 1650, constituted the point of re-union for all the individuals of both sexes, distinguished in the Career of Letters. Catherine de Vivonne, (the Madame du Deffand of that period,) Marchioness of Rambouillet, presided at them: an eminence for which she was qualified, by the elegance of her taste, and the superiority of her mind. In her house, which became a sort of Academy, the productions of the time were appreciated, and passed in Review. Dying in

1665, she was succeeded by Henrietta de Coligny, Countess de la Suze, who, though with inferior reputation, continued to assemble the wits and "Beaux Esprits" at her Hotel. Her high birth, her extraordinary beauty, and her poetic talents, attracted to her circle every person eminent in the Metropolis. It was on her, that the four classic lines were composed;

"Quæ Dea sublimi vehitur per Inania Curru?
An Juno, an Pallas, an Venus ipsa venit?
Si Genus inspicias, Juno: si scripta, Minerva:
Si spectes Oculos, Mater Amoris erit."

Subsequent to her decease in 1673, these conversations seem to have languished for near fifty years, till they were revived and reanimated by the Duchess du Maine, a Princess of the royal blood, grand-daughter of the great Condé, married to the Duke du Maine, natural son of Louis the Fourteenth. After her release from the Castle of Dijon, to which Fortress she had been committed Prisoner by the Regent Duke of Orleans, in 1717, for her participation in the Conspiracy of Prince Cellamare; about the year 1722, she began to assemble persons of liter-

ary celebrity under her roof, in whose society she passed the greater part of her leisure. These meetings, which were principally held, not in the Capital, but at the palace of Seaux, about four leagues South of Paris, continued down to the Duchess du Maine's decease, in 1753; and were attended by many of the persons of both sexes, who afterwards formed the circles at Madame du Deffand's, and at Mademoiselle l'Espinasse's apartments. During the same period of time, Madame de Tencin, sister to the Cardinal of that name, one of the most captivating women in France, the *Aspasia* of that Country, received at her Hotel, the "Gens de Lettres," and may be said to have rivalled the Duchess du Maine, as the protectress of taste and polite knowledge.

Nothing of a similar nature or description appears to have existed in London, between the Restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, and the conclusion of the Century, except the Society that met at the house of the famous Hortensia Mancini, Duchess de Mazarin, niece to the Cardinal of that name; who, from 1667, to the period of her death in 1699, was accustomed to receive at her apartments,

the *Literati* of both sexes. St. Evrémond, an exile, a foreigner, and a fugitive, like herself, constituted the principal support, and the ornament of these parties; where the Chevalier de Grammont, so well known by the Memoirs published under his name, was likewise to be found. It is curious to remark, that the first "Blue Stocking" Assemblies, and I believe, the only meetings deserving the name, which have ever been held in London, down to those of which we have been speaking, were set on foot by natives of France, expatriated and resident here. For neither the letters, nor the writings of Addison, Gay, Steele, Swift, or Pope, indicate that any such meetings existed from 1700, down to the beginning of the present reign. Lady Wortley Montagu, Lady Hervey, the Duchess of Queensberry, and various other females distinguished by their talents, no less than by their rank, adorned that period of time; but they do not appear to have emulated the line which Mrs. Montague so successfully undertook, though they occasionally received in their drawing rooms, the wits and poets of the reigns of Queen Anne, of George the First, and George the Second. Foreigners have, indeed, with rea-

son reproached the English as too much attracted by the love of play, to Clubs composed exclusively of men, to be capable of relishing a mixed society, where researches of taste and literature constitute the basis and the central point of union.

I quitted England in the summer of 1777, and made some stay at the Hague, where I was presented by our Ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, to the Prince of Orange; with whom I afterwards had the honour to sup at "the "Palace in the Wood," as well as to meet him in private society. This Prince has become so well known to us, since his precipitate retreat from Holland in the winter of 1795, by his long residence in England, that it is unnecessary to enter into any minute details relative to his character and qualities. Even at the period to which I allude, he neither inspired public respect, nor excited private regard. His person, destitute of dignity, corresponded with his manners, which were shy, awkward, and altogether unfitted to his high situation as Stadtholder. If he displayed no glaring vices, he either did not, or could not, conceal many weaknesses, calculated to injure him in the estimation of mankind. A constitutional

somnolency, which increased with the progress of age, was too frequently accompanied by excesses still more injurious, or fatal to his reputation; I mean those of the table, particularly of wine. I have seen him at the Hague, of an evening, in a large company, at Sir Joseph Yorke's, in the situation that I here describe. In vigour, ability, or resources of mind, such as might enable him successfully to struggle, like William the Third, with difficult or tumultuous Times, he was utterly deficient. If William the Fifth had possessed the energies of that great Prince, we should neither have been engaged in war with Holland, as happened towards the close of 1780; nor would the Stadtholderate have been overturned in 1795, and the Seven Provinces, which successfully resisted all the power of Philip the Second, have ultimately sunk into an enslaved Province of the Corsican Ruler of France. John and Cornelius de Witt became to William the Third as formidable opponents, as Van Berkel and Neufville proved to his successor: but William the Fifth allowed the French Faction at Amsterdam, acting under the direction of Vergennes, to consolidate their strength, to conclude a treaty with the American Insurgents, and to preci-

pitate a rupture with England. His magnanimous predecessor, though he had scarcely then attained to manhood, opposed and surmounted all the efforts of the Republican Party, sustained by Louis the Fourteenth with a view to subject Holland to French ambition. Van Berkel merited the fate of the two de Witts, and only escaped it by the inert and incapable conduct of the Stadtholder, who permitted the fairest opportunity to pass for bringing him to public punishment, as a violator of the laws of nations, a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to his own country. Relative to William the Fifth's personal courage, no opinion can be formed, as it was never tried; but he possessed neither the activity, nor any of the endowments fitted for the conduct of armies. It must, however, be admitted, that his understanding was cultivated, his memory very retentive, his conversation, when unembarrassed, entertaining and even instructive, abounding with historical information that displayed extensive acquaintance with polite letters; and that he joined to a fine taste in the arts, particularly in painting, a generous protection of their professors. In a period of repose he might have been tolerated; but the Stadtholderate, at every time

since its commencement in the person of William the First, and the revolt of the Low Countries from Philip the Second, has demanded the greatest energies in the individual who was placed at the head of the Dutch Commonwealth.

Nature, which rarely confers great or eminent qualities of mind in hereditary descent, seemed to have departed from that rule, in the House of Nassau-Orange; where she produced five Princes in succession, all of whom were conspicuous in a greater or a less degree, for courage, capacity, and the talents that ensure or confirm political power. The five Roman Emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, who succeeded each other in Antiquity, were altogether unallied by ties of consanguinity. Adoption alone constituted the connection between them: and Commodus, whom we suppose to have been the son of Marcus Aurelius, the last of those five Cæsars, was only distinguished by his crimes, or by his incapacity. William the First and his two sons, Maurice, and Frederic-Henry, who may be said to have successively occupied the office of Stadtholder, or Captain-General of the United

Provinces, during fourscore years, from 1567 to 1647, without interruption; were three of the most illustrious men whom we have seen in modern Ages. Even William the Second, though his end was premature, and in some measure unfortunate, yet manifested no less strength of character and vigour of mind, than his three predecessors. The whole existence of William the Third, from his early youth to his grave, which occupied more than thirty years, formed a perpetual display of fortitude, endurance, toil, and military, as well as civil exertion. With him expired in 1702, the great Line of Nassau-*Orange*. In 1747, the dignity and functions of Stadtholder, which had been suspended for five and forty years, were revived in the person of William the Fourth, head of the branch of Nassau-*Dietz*, collaterally related to the preceding race. However little favoured by nature in his bodily formation, which was very defective; and however moderately endowed with intellectual powers was William the Fourth, who married the Princess Anne, daughter of George the Second; he at least maintained during the few years that he survived his elevation, an external dignity of deportment, and an irreproachable moral conduct. But, in the

hands of William the Fifth, his son, may be said in every sense to have become eclipsed, that great office of Stadtholder, in itself only less than royal; and, under able management, perhaps even more formidable than the kingly dignity!

The reception of the late Prince of Orange by George the Third, when he sought refuge in this country from the French Invasion, in 1795, was no less affectionate, hospitable, and cordial, than the treatment which James the Second experienced in 1689, from Louis the Fourteenth. If James, justly expelled by his English subjects for tyranny, political and religious, was lodged at the Castle of St. Germain, and treated with Royal Honors, by the French Monarch; William was equally placed in the Palace at Hampton Court. The Princes of the Royal Family, and the Nation at large, vied in demonstrations of respect, compassion, and attention towards him. The Princess of Orange, a woman of a far more elevated, correct, and manly character than her husband, experienced as generous, and as kind a welcome, from the King and Queen of Great Britain, as Mary of Modena, the Consort of James, received in France. Of a stature

exceeding the height of ordinary women, she extremely resembled in her figure, the late King of Prussia, Frederick-William the Second, her brother, who was cast by nature in the same Colossal mould. Fortune, which had persecuted her in Holland, did not prove more favorable to her in England. Her second son, Prince Frederic of Orange, a young man who excited the liveliest expectations, and gave promise of many virtues, had entered into the Austrian Service, after his father's expulsion from Holland. By his mother he was regarded with peculiar predilection, as formed to support the honor of the Houses of Nassau and of Brandenburgh, from both which he equally descended. Exemplary in the discharge of all his military duties, to this principle his premature death was to be attributed, which took place at Venice, in January, 1799; occasioned by a malignant distemper or fever, caught in consequence of visiting the sick soldiers, confined in the hospitals of that city.

His Britannic Majesty first read the account of it at the Queen's house, in one of the French newspapers, on Thursday night, the 31st of January, 1799. Shocked at the

intelligence, and not being quite sure of its authenticity, he put the newspaper in his pocket; and taking the Queen aside, communicated it to her with much concern. As the probabilities were greatly in favor of its truth, or rather, as no doubt could reasonably be entertained on the point, they agreed not to delay announcing it to the Prince and Princess of Orange; who might otherwise receive so melancholy a notification through the channel of the English newspapers, or even from common fame. This determination they executed on the following day, at the Queen's house, where they detained the Prince and Princess for two or three weeks, till the violence of the emotions occasioned by the loss of their son, had subsided. Some faint hopes, indeed, were entertained during eight or ten days after the arrival of the intelligence, that it might prove either premature or untrue. It was, however, soon fully confirmed. All mankind agreed that Prince Frederic eminently possessed talents, honor, and courage. His unfortunate father, after arriving in this country under a dark political cloud, and after residing here many years, without acquiring the public esteem, or redeeming his public

character, finally and precipitately quitted England under a still darker cloud; only to bury himself in the obscurity of Germany, there to expire, forgotten, and almost unknown. Such has been the destiny, in our time, of the Representative of that August House; which, in the sixteenth Century, while it conducted the armies of Holland, opposed and humbled Spain; and which, in the seventeenth Century, affixed limits to the ambition of France, under Louis the Fourteenth. A Corsican Adventurer has since enslaved, plundered, and conscribed during many years, the country in whose councils, Barnevelt, the two de Witts, and Heinsius, once presided; for which Van Tromp and Ruyter fought, conquered, and fell; and where the spirit of freedom seemed to have animated every individual, when the Duke of Alva overran, and desolated those Provinces. It is in making these reflections on the modern Dutch, and contrasting their conduct with the heroism of their ancestors, that we involuntarily exclaim with *Goldsmith*,

"Gods! how unlike their Belgic Sires of old!"

At the time when I visited the Hague, in July, 1777, Prince Louis, one of the brothers

of the then reigning Duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuttel, and Commander-in-chief of the Dutch Forces, enjoyed a much higher place in the public consideration, than the Stadtholder. I have rarely seen in the course of my life, a man of more enormous bodily dimensions. William, Duke of Cumberland, son of George the Second, whose corpulency was extreme, fell far short of him in bulk. But, this prodigious mass of flesh, which it was natural to suppose, would enervate or enfeeble the powers of his mind, seemed neither to have rendered him indolent or inactive. The strength of his character, and the solidity of his talents, while they supplied in some measure the defects of the Prince of Orange, animated and impelled the vast machine that he inhabited. Prince Louis manifested no somnolency when in company; nor was he ever betrayed at table, into excesses injurious to his reputation. On the Parade, and in his military capacity, he displayed equal animation and professional knowledge. Attached to the interests of the House of Orange, and to those of Great Britain, he became naturally obnoxious to the French faction in Holland; which finally effected his removal from the post that he held in

the service of the Republic, and compelled him to retire out of the Dutch Dominions, a few years later than the period of which I am speaking. He died, I believe, in 1788. His dismission and departure prepared the way for the overthrow of the Stadtholderate, notwithstanding the temporary triumph of the late Duke of Brunswic, and the capture of Amsterdam, effected in the Summer of 1787, by the Prussian forces.

His brother, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, who commanded the allied army with so much reputation, during the Seven Years War, from 1757 down to 1763; and who occupied at that time so distinguished a rank in the history of Europe; was unquestionably an able general, and a good Tactician; but by no means endowed with superior talents of any kind. In order to have secured the degree of fame that he had acquired in the field, it may be asserted that he ought not to have survived his last Campaign. For, he soon afterwards abandoned himself to the doctrines and reveries of the *Illuminés*, who, it is well known, obtained such an ascendant about that time, in Germany. They reduced his mind to a degree of imbecility which could only ex-

cite compassion. It will hardly be believed that before the year 1773, he was so subjugated by them, as frequently to pass many hours of the night, in churchyards, engaged in evoking, and attempting to raise apparitions. They practised successfully on his credulity, making him conceive that he beheld spectres, or aerial forms. These occupations, which afforded sufficient proofs of intellectual decline, having impelled the great Frederic, whose sound understanding despised the *Illuminés*, to dismiss Prince Ferdinand from his situation in the Prussian service; he then retired to Magdeburgh, of the Chapter of which secularized Archbishoprick, he was Dean. In that city he principally resided till his decease, divested of any military command, in a sort of retreat; but, keeping a good table, and receiving strangers occasionally who visited Magdeburg. His income, a considerable part of which consisted in a Pension from the Crown of Great Britain, enabled him to maintain an establishment becoming his rank. An intimate friend of mine, now no more; about that time, Minister of England at the Court of Dresden, Mr. Osborn, being well acquainted with Prince Ferdinand, used frequently to dine with him. The Prince, who treated

him with great regard, wishing to make a Proselyte of him, one day proposed that they should go together to a certain churchyard, on that same night; promising him that a ghost would infallibly appear to them. Mr. Osborn agreed to accept the proposal, and to accompany His Serene Highness to the scene of these supernatural exhibitions, provided that he would order six Grenadiers, their pieces loaded with ball cartridge, to attend them; and would enjoin the Grenadiers to fire upon whatever object might assume the appearance of a ghost. But, the Prince by no means relished the idea, and the party did not take place. Of the accuracy of this anecdote I can have no doubt, as it was related to me by Mr. Osborn himself, whose honor and veracity were indisputable. Prince Ferdinand continued till the period of his death, in July, 1792, to be a dupe and a convert of the *Illuminés.*

Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards created Lord Dover, maintained a distinguished rank among the Members of the Corps Diplomatique, in 1777, at the Hague. His table, splendid and hospitable, was open to strangers of every country. Educated under Horace, Lord Wal-

pole, and the first Lord Hampden, his manners and address had in them something formal and ceremonious; but, the vigilance and ability which he displayed during above five-and-twenty years that he was Embassador of England to the States-General, more than compensated for these defects of deportment. Never, perhaps, at any period of modern time, except by Sir William Temple, under Charles the Second, were the Interests of Great Britain so zealously, yet temperately sustained, as by him; for whom the Stadtholder felt and expressed a sort of filial regard. In 1777, the English Sovereign and Nation still continued to preserve an Ascendancy in the Dutch Councils; till the augmenting misfortunes, and accumulated disgraces of the American war, finally enabling France to obtain a predominating influence, compelled Lord North to recall Sir Joseph Yorke from the Hague. With another of His Majesty's foreign Ministers, Mr. Wroughton, who became afterwards Sir Thomas Wroughton, I passed a considerable part of the Summer of 1778, in the Court and Capital of Poland. Warsaw, destined to become, in more recent periods, the Theatre of carnage and revolution, then enjoyed a delusive calm; while

Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, were involved in war relative to the Bavarian Succession. Wroughton, at the time of which I speak, was about forty-six. He had been very handsome in his youth; and though grown somewhat corpulent, still preserved many of the graces, and much of the activity of that period of life. His education, if it had not given him a very cultivated mind, had completely fitted him for the world; and a residence of more than twenty years at the two Courts of Poland and Russia, in a public character, rendered his conversation, upon all points connected with the History of the North of Europe, no less entertaining than informing. From him I learned a number of curious facts respecting the two Russian Empresses, Elizabeth and Catherine; which, though they assuredly would have been transmitted to posterity by Brantome, cannot, without violating decorum, be commemorated in the present Age.

Sir Thomas Wroughton was sent, at three or four-and-twenty, to Petersburgh, where he subsequently became British Consul, during the reign of the former of those Princesses. No man was better acquainted with her character, as well as with the political Intrigues

which distinguished the concluding years of Elizabeth's life. He assured me that she died a victim to her own excesses, and almost with a saucer of cherry-brandy at her lips; it having been found impossible, by any injunctions of her physicians, to prevent the female attendants about her person and bed, from indulging her in this pernicious gratification. The last Princess of the Stuart line who reigned in this country, has been accused of a similar passion, if we may believe the Secret History of that time, or trust to the Couplet which was affixed to the Pedestal of her Statue in front of St. Paul's, by the satirical wits of 1714. The Empress Elizabeth's Amours were such as the Messalinas and Faustinas of Antiquity, are asserted to have carried on in the Capital of the Roman world, without delicacy, shame, or restraint. Suetonius might have found it difficult to relate, and Juvenal as impossible to exaggerate, the particulars of Elizabeth's gallantries. Of Catherine, Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke with admiration and respect, though with freedom. To her notice he was, indeed, greatly indebted for his elevation in life; she having been instrumental in procuring him the appointment of Consul to Petersburgh.

As he was in the flower of his age at that time, and of an imposing figure, he attracted her attention, and was honored by her with such distinguishing marks of predilection, as to draw upon him the resentment of the Grand Duke, her husband; who, when he ascended the throne early in 1762, by the name of Peter the Third, obtained, during his short reign, Wroughton's removal from Russia. He was then sent, by orders from his own Court, to Dresden, as Minister to Augustus the Third, Elector of Saxony, in his capacity of King of Poland; and he accompanied or followed that Monarch from Saxony to Warsaw, in the last visit that Augustus made to his Polish dominions. As Wroughton had become an object of Peter's unconcealed dislike, or jealousy; and as Catherine had distinguished him by personal attentions of the most flattering nature, it was not an improbable supposition, that she might have carried to the utmost extent, her preference of him. But he always assured me, even in moments of the greatest confidence and unreserve, that he had never violated for an instant, the limits of the most profound respect towards her; nor had ever received from her, encouragement for such presump-

tion on his part. "Count Poniatowski," said he, "was her Lover. I was only her humble "Friend and Servant."

He told me, that the first time he ever heard the name of Orloff mentioned, or ever saw the Officer who afterwards became, as Prince Orloff, the avowed Favorite of Catherine in every sense, was on the following occasion. Crossing the court of the Winter Palace at Petersburgh, some time during the year 1760, the Grand Duchess, who leaned on his arm, pointed out to him a young man in the Uniform of the Russian Guards, then in the act of saluting her with his Spontoon; and added, "*Vous voyez ce beau jeune* "*Homme? Le connoissez vous?*" Wroughton replying in the negative, "*Il s'appelle Or-*" *loff*," said Catherine; "*Croirez vous, qu'il a* "*eu la Hardiesse de me faire l'amour?*" "*Il est* "*bien hardi, Madame*," answered he, smiling. The conversation proceeded no further; but it remained deeply imprinted upon Wroughton's recollection, who from that moment silently anticipated the future favor of Orloff. Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke to me of Catherine's Participation or Acquiescence in the death of Peter the Third, as involun-

tary, reluctant, and the Result of an insurmountable Necessity. He even considered her knowledge of the destruction of the unfortunate Emperor Ivan, who was stabbed by his own Guards at Schulsselbourg, in 1764, with a view to prevent his being liberated by Mirowitsch, as exceedingly problematical. But he believed, in common with all Poland, that Catherine had found means to entrap and to transfer to Petersburgh, the Princess Tarrakanoff, a daughter of the Empress Elizabeth; where, as was asserted, she had perished in prison, by the waters of the River Neva entering the room in which she was confined. Alexis Orloff so well known in the Annals of Catherine's Reign, who then commanded the Russian Fleet in the Mediterannean; became, no doubt, on that occasion, the instrument of her vengeance, or rather of her apprehensions, by enticing on board his ship, in the port of Leghorn, the unhappy female in question. This accusation, sustained by many strong facts, and apparent proofs, narrated at great length, has since been submitted to the Tribunal of Europe, in "*La Vie de Catherine Seconde,*" by Castera, published in 1797, soon after the Empress's

decease. Sir John Dick, who at the time of the supposed Princess's seizure by Alexis Orloff, was British Consul at Leghorn; is named in the work to which I allude, as having been an accomplice in the act of ensnaring, and carrying her off to the Russian Admiral's ship. His wife is likewise charged with a participation in so foul a conspiracy.

I lived during several years, in habits of familiar acquaintance with Sir John Dick, who retained, at fourscore, all the activity of middle life, together with the perfect possession of his memory and faculties. He was an agreeable, entertaining, well bred man, who had seen much of the world. Dining in a large company, at Mr. Thomas Hope's, in Berkeley Square, on Sunday, the 10th of February, 1799, I sat by Sir John Dick; and well knowing his intimacy with Alexis Orloff, I enquired of him where the Count then was? "He is," answered Sir John Dick, "at present at Leipsic, from "which place he wrote to me, only three "weeks ago. The Emperor Paul commanded "him to travel, after having made him and "Prince Baratinskoi, both of whom assisted "in the termination of Peter the Third's life,

" assist likewise at the funeral ceremonies of " that Prince. They held the Pall, and actually " mounted guard over the body, in the church " of the Citadel of Petersburgh, remaining the " whole night with the corpse. Alexis went " through this function with perfect com- " posure." Encouraged by the frankness of this reply, I ventured to ask him if he had read the Narrative of the Princess Tarrakanoff's seizure, related in " *La Vie de Catherine Se-* " *conde?*" " I have certainly perused it," said he, " and not without some concern, as " I am there accused by name, no less than " my wife, of having been a party to the act " of transporting by violence, a young un- " suspecting, and innocent Princess, on board " the Russian Fleet. I will relate to you, as a " man of veracity, all the part that I took, and " all I know, relative to the pretended Prin- " cess in question, who is there asserted to " have been a daughter of Elizabeth, Em- " press of Russia, by Alexis Razoumoffsky.

" During the time that the Russian Squa- " dron lay in the harbour of Leghorn, in " 1771, Alexis Orloff, who was the Admiral, " resided frequently, if not principally, at " Pisa, where he hired a splendid house.

" One morning, about eleven o'clock, a Cos-
" sack, who was in his service, and who acted
" as his Courier, arrived at my door, charged
" with a message, to inform me that his mas-
" ter, with some company, in three carriages,
" meant to dine with me on that day. I ac-
" cordingly ordered a dinner to be prepared
" for his reception. When he arrived, he
" brought with him a Lady, whom he in-
" troduced to my wife and to myself: but he
" never named her, only calling her, " *Questa*
" *Dama.*" She was by no means handsome,
" though genteel in her figure; apparently,
" thirty years of age; and had the air of a
" person who had suffered in her health.
" There seemed something mysterious about
" her, which excited my curiosity, but which
" I could not penetrate. Considering her
" with attention, it struck me forcibly that
" I had seen her before, and in England. Be-
" ing determined, if possible, to satisfy myself
" on this point, as we stood leaning against
" the chimney piece in my drawing room,
" before dinner, I said to her, " I believe,
" Ma'am, you speak English." " I speak
" only one little," answered she. " We sat
" down to dinner, and after the repast,
" Alexis Orloff proposed to my wife, and

" to another Lady who was there present,
" to accompany him and the female stranger
" on board his ship. They both declining it,
" Orloff took her with him in the evening.
" The Boom, or chain, was then stretched
" across the harbour: but a boat came from
" the Russian Admiral's ship, into which he
" put the Lady, and accompanied her himself
" safe on board.

" On the ensuing morning, when Or-
" loff came on shore, he proceeded to my
" house. His eyes were violently inflamed,
" and his whole countenance betrayed much
" agitation. Without explaining to me the
" cause or the reason of this disorder, he
" owned that he had passed a very unplea-
" sant night; and he requested me to let
" him have some of the most amusing books
" in my library, in order to divert the Lady
" who was on board his ship. I never saw
" her again: but I know that soon after-
" wards, she was sent by Alexis, in a Fri-
" gate, to Cronstadt; where, without being
" ever landed, she was transferred up the
" Neva, to the Fortress of Schlusselbourg, at
" the mouth of the lake Ladoga. Catherine
" there confined her, in the very room that

" Peter the Third had caused to be con-
" structed, with intent to shut up herself in
" it. The Lady unquestionably died in that
" prison, of Chagrin; but she was not drown-
" ed by the water of the Neva coming into her
" apartment, as is asserted in " *La Vie de*
" *Catherine Seconde.*

" Having stated to you," continued Sir John Dick, " these circumstances, I will now
" inform you, who, and of what description
" was the lady in question. Far from being,
" as is pretended, a daughter of Elizabeth,
" Empress of Russia, her father was a Baker
" of Nuremberg in Franconia. If, on this
" point, my testimony should appear to you
" doubtful or suspicious, the present Mar-
" grave of Anspach, who is in this country, and
" who knew her well, is ready to testify the
" same fact. She was a woman of pleasure,
" during a short time, both in Paris, and here
" in London; at which last mentioned city,
" she had picked up a few words of English.
" Prince Nicholas Radzivil, who was driven
" out of Poland by the Russians, having met
" with her, made her his Mistress, and car-
" ried her with him into Italy. In order to
" revenge himself on Catherine, who had ex-

" pelled him from his native country, and
" confiscated his immense estates in Lithua-
" nia; he resolved on calling her the Princess
" Tarrakanoff, pretending that she was Eliza-
" beth's daughter. Such she was, in fact, con-
" sidered to be by many people; and the re-
" port acquiring strength, soon reached Pe-
" tersburgh. Catherine, naturally alarmed at
" the existence of a pretender, who might lay
" claim to the very throne of Russia; and
" being informed that Prince Radzivil as-
" serted her right to the empire, as a legiti-
" mate daughter of Elizabeth by Razoumoff-
" sky, to whom she had been secretly mar-
" ried; thought that not a moment was to be
" lost, in securing the person of so dangerous
" a rival. She issued private orders, therefore,
" to Alexis Orloff, enjoining him to gain pos-
" session of the pretended Princess, at all
" events, and by every possible means, either
" of money, or violence. To so great a height
" did the Empress's apprehensions rise, that
" Orloff avowed to me, he had received the
" positive commands of Her Majesty, to pur-
" sue her even to Ragusa, if necessary; where
" it was understood she had retired; to de-
" mand her from the government of that
" small Republic; and if they should refuse

" to give her up, to bombard the city, and " to lay it in ashes. But, Alexis found means " to entrap, or to entice her, without either " disturbance, or hostility. He treated her " as his Mistress, while he resided at Pisa, " and while she lay on board his ship at Leg- " horn. These are all the particulars that " I know relative to her, and all the share " that I had in her detention, or her mis- " fortunes."

It is probable that this recital, however natural and plausible it may appear, or however true it may be in point of fact, will nevertheless by no means carry conviction to every mind. I confess, that it neither produced that sentiment in me, at the time when Sir John Dick related it; nor, on the fullest consideration, am I thoroughly persuaded that the person in question, was not the daughter of Elizabeth. It seems to be universally admitted, and I have always been so assured, that the Empress did privately espouse Razoumoffsky; that she had by him, between the years 1740 and 1745, various children; one of whom was brought up, and called the Princess or Countess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil might, as is asserted in " *La Vie de Catherine Seconde*," have contrived means to carry her off;

and after accompanying her to Rome, might there have quitted or deserted her. It is unquestionable, even by Sir John Dick's account, that Catherine dreaded her; and that Orloff, by her orders, decoyed, ensnared, and made himself master of the person of this unfortunate female. But, that in order to effect his base and barbarous purpose, Orloff actually married her, or pretended so to do; that she passed *several days* under Sir John Dick's roof, in amusement and dissipation; that "the Consul, his wife, and the "wife of Rear Admiral Greig, took their "seats by her in the Barge, which conveyed "her on board the Russian Squadron;" finally, that a British Consul would dishonour himself, his Sovereign, and his nation, by openly facilitating so perfidious an act;—all these assertions of Castera, and many others relative to her treatment on board Orloff's ship, appear to me wholly undeserving of credit. They are, indeed, completely disproved by Sir John Dick's narrative to me, unless we suppose him utterly devoid of truth and honour. On the other hand, that he should have remained silent under such a charge, made in the face of all Europe, without attempting to repel, or to disprove it, in as public a manner as it was brought forward; seems

almost like a negative admission of its veracity. His denial of the accusation, given in private conversation to me, could not redeem his character, to the world at large. Sir John, we may likewise remember, lay under personal obligations to Catherine the Second, who had conferred on him one of the Russian Orders of Knighthood; and from his connection with whom, while Orloff lay at Leghorn with her fleet, he had derived great pecuniary advantages. The manner in which Alexis treated him, by bringing to his house a stranger, whom he never announced to Sir John, or to his wife, by name; and with whom he lived as his Mistress; — these facts seem to imply great subservience on the part of the British Consul, and will probably induce us to pause, before we give implicit belief to his assertions. I leave, however, the decision on this point, to every man's own opinion.

But was the Lady in question, the daughter of Elizabeth, or not? It seems to me impossible, for want of evidence, to reply satisfactorily to the question. I confess, however, that I think it more probable she should have been, as Sir John Dick asserted, a German

woman, whom Prince Radzivil had instructed, or induced, to assume the name and title of Princess Tarrakanoff. It is even very difficult altogether to condemn the Empress Catherine, for endeavouring to get possession of her person. For, had she passed over to Ragusa, and from thence into the Ottoman dominions, she would have been, when once in the hands of the Turks, with whom Russia was at war, a most dangerous competitor to the throne. We must recollect, that Catherine herself had attained the imperial dignity by a revolution, and the consequent destruction of her husband, without any right of descent. To her, an impostress was nearly as formidable as a rightful pretender to the throne. The history of the false Demetrius, in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, so famous in the Muscovite Annals, might justly inspire her with apprehension. Similar scenes might be renewed under her own reign, in the interior of that vast Empire. Pugatcheff had long been considered, by a great part of the Russian people, as the Emperor Peter the Third. These considerations must, at least in a political point of view, justify Catherine for taking measures to prevent the Lady in question from being made an instrument in

the hands of vindictive or ambitious individuals, to accomplish their projects of Vengeance against herself. In the eyes of morality and of humanity, the whole reign and Administration of that Empress, however brilliant and imposing it may appear, through the medium of Voltaire's, or of the Prince de Ligne's writings, cannot bear a close examination, or support a severe scrutiny.

We shall find it equally difficult to palliate her conduct relative to the first Grand Duchess of Russia, wife of Paul; who is believed to have perished, or rather, to have been put out of life, by Catherine's directions or permission, in a manner still more tragical than the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff. I have seen the Grand Duchess in question, at the Drawing-room at Peterhoff, in 1774, soon after her marriage. She was by birth a Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, having been chosen in preference to two of her sisters, who accompanied her from Germany to Russia. They must have been very deficient in personal attractions, if Paul's selection resulted from her superiority in that respect, above her sisters. I have rarely beheld a young person less favored by Nature. She

had a scorbutic humour in her face, nor did her countenance indicate either intelligence or dignity: but she was said to be amiable and pleasing in her manners. That she died during the course of her confinement after lying-in, about two years subsequent to her marriage, is certain; and it is equally indisputable, that Imputations of the heaviest nature, were on that occasion revived against the Empress Catherine, accusing her as the author of the Grand Duchess's death. I shall recount the particulars of her end, on the testimony of two Princes of Hesse Philipstahl, who were allied to her by consanguinity, and whom I met at Vienna in the beginning of 1778, at Marshal Haddick's, as well as at other houses in that Capital. They came to seek service under Maria Theresa, and seemed to have no delicacy or reserve in relating the story, though it was then so recent a transaction. Their account was nearly as follows.

Wilhelmina, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, who, on her marriage with Paul, assumed the name of Natalia Alexiewna, proved with child in 1775, to the great joy of Catherine, as well as of the Empire at large, which

anxiously expected an heir. Unfortunately for the Grand Duchess, though she went her full time, yet she had so long and dangerous a labour, that not only the child of which she was delivered, died in the birth; but, she was herself declared by the physicians and surgeons who attended her, to have received so much injury, as to be incapable of ever again producing children, even if she should ultimately recover. The case was of serious consequence to Russia, as Paul having neither brother nor sister, Heirs were indispensable to the welfare of the State. On the point being submitted to the Empress, and a few select advisers, as a political Question, after mature discussion, it was finally determined to sacrifice her to the public Interest, by putting her quietly out of the way. One great Impediment remained, however, to be surmounted. Paul was known to be not only attached in the warmest manner to his wife; but his principles of morality and humanity would not, it was believed, permit him to sanction such an act. In fact, when the idea was first suggested to him, though indirectly and ambiguously, he manifested the utmost indignation, as well as horror. With a view to extinguish all emotions of that na-

ture in his bosom, and to induce him to consent to the deed, the persons who were employed for the purpose, assailed him therefore by other arguments and motives than those of State Policy or Necessity. "Your Im-"perial Highness then imagines," said they, "that the Grand Duchess was true to your "Bed, and that the Child which she brought "into the world, was yours?" On his answering in the affirmative, they assured him that she had carried on a criminal intrigue with one of the handsomest, as well as most accomplished young Noblemen about the Court. Paul still continuing, nevertheless, incredulous, they put into his hands various of her own Letters, and those of her Lover; which, as they asserted, had been discovered, or intercepted, containing unequivocal proofs of mutual intercourse, sufficient to convince the Grand Duke of her Infidelity. He then abandoned her to her fate; and the medical attendants having received proper instructions, completed the rest, in a manner equally effectual and expeditious.

Such was the account given by the Princes of Hesse Philipstahl; and a circumstance which augments its probability is, that the

Nobleman himself, who was accused of being the Lover of the Grand Duchess, then resided at Vienna; to which city he had been sent, as common report affirmed, by Catherine, on the complaints of her son, immediately after the death of the unfortunate Princess in question. I knew him intimately, during a long time, while at Vienna. He since filled the post of Envoy from the Empress of Russia, at the Court of Naples; where he was believed to have carried his temerity, and his success even higher than he had done at Petersburgh. Few men whom I have ever seen or known, were more formed by Nature to be beloved by women. His figure was advantageous; his manners, though lofty, yet were gay and captivating whenever he desired to conciliate good-will; and his countenance, which somewhat resembled that of a Calmuck, had in it nevertheless an air of distinction, spirit, and intelligence. He had served in the Russian Fleet, under Alexis Orloff; was present at the memorable victory of Schismé, on the coast of Natolia, in 1770, where the Turkish squadron in that Bay was destroyed; and had acquired, under Admirals Elphinstone and Greig, not only a knowledge of naval Tactics, but of the English language likewise, which he spoke

with admirable ease and fluency. When we contemplate the history of the Imperial Family of Russia, from the reign of Peter the First, down to the present time; we shall find nothing in the story above related, either improbable, or inconsistent with the measures to which the Sovereigns of that Empire have continually had recourse, under similar circumstances, in various instances.

If Catherine did not hesitate, by the commission of a crime, to render her son a widower, she was at least determined to lose no time in providing him a second wife. For this purpose, she applied, almost immediately after the removal of the unfortunate Grand Duchess, to the great Frederic, King of Prussia, requesting him to select for Paul, a German Princess, to supply the vacancy occasioned in her family by death. She even sketched out with her own hand, the prominent qualities of person and of mind, which she considered as principally requisite in the object of his choice. This delicate commission Frederic executed with great ability; and, having fully sounded the ground, he recommended the Princess Sophia of Wirtemberg to the Empress, for her future

daughter-in-law. It was, perhaps, impossible to have made a more judicious selection, for such a dangerous eminence. She was not quite seventeen years of age; and she possessed, besides youth, personal attractions, calculated to retain the Grand Duke's affections. Her understanding, solid, and her deportment, blameless, secured universal esteem; while, at the same time, she neither displayed such talents, energy of character, or ambition, as could render her an object of Catherine's apprehension. Paul, accompanied by Marshal Romanzoff, whose victories over the Turks have rendered him so justly celebrated, was sent by Catherine, in 1776, to Berlin; where Frederic, after contributing to procure him a wife, entertained him at Potzdam, in the most splendid manner. At one of these entertainments, given, if I recollect right, in the new palace near *Sans Souci;* in the midst of the dinner, a large piece of the cieling fell down on the table, involving the room and the company in dust, confusion, and astonishment; not unlike the accident which Fundanius relates as happening at Nasidienus's supper. The King, with admirable presence of mind, instantly throwing his arms round Paul, who sat next him, held the Grand Duke closely

embraced, without suffering him to stir, till the cause, as well as the consequences of the disaster, were ascertained. When it was discovered to have arisen only from a defect in the plaister of the cieling, and to have been altogether casual, a Courier was immediately dispatched to Petersburgh, stating the particulars to Catherine; assuring her at the same time, that her son was in perfect safety. We cannot help admiring the quickness of Frederic's perception, which, ignorant as he was from what cause so unusual and alarming an event originated, led him, without a moment's delay, to participate the danger and the misfortune, if such existed, with the Grand Duke. In fact, they must have perished together, if they perished at all. The malignity of mankind would, unquestionably, have suspected or attributed treachery of some kind, had any fatal accident, in which the King was not enveloped, befallen his guest. Frederic, by his promptitude, obviated the possibility of misrepresentation, either at Petersburgh, or in any other of the Courts of Europe.

During the first ten or fifteen years of the reign of Catherine the Second, it was commonly believed; and in Poland, where men

ventured to state their opinions in conversation, with more freedom than they dared to do in Russia, I have heard it often maintained in private society; that the Grand Duke Paul would, sooner or later, disappear, as Peter the Third did in 1762, and as the unfortunate Emperor Ivan did in 1764. If Catherine had dreaded her son, such an event might have been not improbable: but she knew him, and did not fear him. The strongest mark of her superiority to all apprehension from his machinations, or efforts to ascend the Russian Throne before his time, was the permission which she gave him to travel over Germany, France, and Italy. He was accompanied on his Tour, by the Grand Duchess, for whom he then manifested the utmost fondness; though the testimonies which he gave her of his affection, were not always regulated by delicacy or propriety. Sir William Hamilton told me, that when Paul arrived at Naples, in 1782, he had the honour to accompany the Grand Duke and Duchess, on their excursions round that city; to view Portici, Pompeia, and the other principal objects of curiosity, visited by travellers. "The first time," said Sir William, "that I was "with them in a coach, we had not proceed-

" ed far, when Paul, as if unconscious that I " was present, throwing his arms about the " Grand Duchess, began to kiss her with as " much warmth as he could have shewn if " they had been alone, and newly married. I " was somewhat embarrassed at this unusual " display of matrimonial attachment, hardly " knowing which way to direct my view; for " there was no other person with us in the " carriage: and as I sat opposite to their " Imperial Highnesses, I could not easily " avoid seeing all that passed, though I af- " fected to look through the glass, at the ob- " jects without. At length, the Grand Duke " addressing himself to me, said, ' *Monsieur* " *Le Chevalier, J'aime beaucoup ma femme.*' " It was impossible not to credit the asser- " tion, after the proofs which he had just " exhibited. But we had not proceeded a " mile further, when he recommenced the " same demonstrations of attachment, which " he repeated many times before we arrived " at Portici: usually observing to me, each " time, ' *Vous voyez que J'aime beaucoup* " *ma femme.*' I could only express my " satisfaction at his felicity, concealing my " astonishment at the testimonies of it which I " had witnessed." It would have been hap-

py for this violent and infatuated Prince, if he had never ascended the Russian Throne, but had always continued in the state of political annihilation to which his mother had reduced him, and in which she retained him to the end of her life.

The pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and the first Grand Duchess of Russia, were not the only females of high rank, whom Catherine the Second is accused of having caused to be put out of life. Augusta Caroline, eldest daughter of the late celebrated Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, who fell at Auerstadt, perished in a manner equally mysterious; and, as some persons believe, not less tragical. This Princess, who was born towards the end of the year 1764; before she attained the age of sixteen, was married to the present King, at that time Prince, of Wirtemberg. He was then about twenty-six years old, and might be considered as eventual presumptive heir to his uncle, the reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, Charles Eugene. When I was at the Court of Brunswic, in the Autumn of 1777, at which time the Princess was near thirteen, I saw her more than once, in the apartments of her mother. She had a very fair complex-

ion, light hair, pleasing features, and an interesting figure. Some years after her marriage, she accompanied the Prince her husband into Russia, when he entered into the military service of that Crown; to the Heir of which, as has been already stated, his sister was married. They resided during some time at Petersburgh, or in other parts of the Russian Empire; but in 1787 he quitted Catherine's service and dominions; leaving his wife behind, of whose conduct, it was asserted, he had great reason to complain. They had then three children living, two sons and a daughter, whom the Empress permitted him to take away, when he withdrew from her employ; but she retained the Princess under her own protection. At the end of a year or two, it was notified to the Prince of Wirtemberg, as well as to the Duke of Brunswic, by order of the Empress, that the wife of the one, and the daughter of the other, was no more. The Duke, her father, immediately demanded in the most pressing terms, that her body might he delivered up to him: but this request was never granted, nor did he even receive any such authentic proofs of her decease, and still less of the circumstances attending it, as could satisfy

him on the subject. Doubts were not only entertained whether she died a natural death, but it remained questionable whether she did not still survive, and was not existing in Siberia, or in the Polar Desarts; like many other illustrious exiles of her own family, who had been banished thither by the Empress Elizabeth, when she ascended the Throne in 1741, on the deposition of Ivan.

I have heard this subject agitated between 1789 and 1795, when great uncertainty prevailed respecting the point; though it seemed to be generally believed that she was dead, and that her end had been accelerated or produced by poison. It was natural to ask, who had caused the poison to be administered? Was the Empress herself the perpetrator of this crime? And even if that fact should be admitted, was not the Prince of Wirtemberg tacitly a party to its commission? Though no positive solution of these questions could be given, yet when the fact of the Princess's death came to be universally understood, many persons doubted the innocence of her husband. The King of Great Britain himself was strongly imbued with the opinion, of which he made no secret. In 1796, when the

first overtures were begun, on the part of the Court of Wirtemberg, for the marriage of their Prince, to the Princess Royal; George the Third was so prepossessed against him, for having been supposed privy to the death of his wife, that he would not listen to the proposal. In order to remove an obstacle of such magnitude, the Prince sent over to London, a private Agent, instructed to ascertain from what quarter the accusation came, and furnished with documents for disproving it. That Agent I personally knew, while he was here, employed on the above mission. He possessed talents, spirit, zeal, and activity, all which he exerted in the cause. Having clearly traced the imputation up to Count Woronzoff, who long had been, and who then was the Russian Envoy at our Court; he induced the Count, by very strong personal remonstrances, accompanied, as we must suppose, by proofs, to declare his conviction of the Prince's innocence, and utter ignorance of the nature or manner of his wife's end. It followed of course, that Catherine, under whose exclusive care she remained, could alone be accused of having produced it. The Agent finally satisfied His Majesty, that the Empress, and she only, caused the Princess to be dis-

patched, without the participation, consent, or knowledge of her husband; if after all she did not a die of a natural death.

In May, 1797, the Princess Royal of England was married to the Prince of Wirtemberg, who, before the conclusion of that year, became Duke, by the decease of Frederic Eugene his father. Early in the summer of 1798, a gentleman conversing with me on the subject of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's death, assured me that he had seen and perused all the papers relative to her imprisonment and decease; which, at the desire of the Prince, and by his authority, had been transmitted to George the Third; who, after a full inspection of them, became perfectly convinced of his having had no part in that dark and melancholy transaction: lastly, he gave it as his Opinion, that Catherine had alone caused her to be poisoned, unless her decease resulted from natural causes.

"Frederic William, reigning Duke of Wir-
"temberg," said he, "entered when young,
"as is well known, into the Prussian service.
"Old Frederic liked and distinguished him.
"Wishing to attach him to the House of

" Brandenburg by permanent ties, and con-
" sidering him as a man of promising abilities,
" the King himself set on foot, and finally
" concluded his marriage with the eldest
" daughter of his own favourite Nephew and
" General, the Duke of Brunswic. This
" event took place in 1780. About five years
" afterwards, Frederic being disposed to form
" a second alliance with the family of Wir-
" temberg, by marrying his great Nephew,
" the present King of Prussia, as soon as his
" age would allow, with the Princess Eliza-
" beth, sister to the Prince; dispatched him
" to Petersburgh for that purpose. His in-
" structions were, to apply to the Grand
" Duchess, who was likewise his sister, for
" the exertion of her influence at the Court
" of Stutgard, in order to prevail on the
" Duke to promise his niece to the eventual
" heir of the Prussian Monarchy. This ne-
" gotiation was, however, rendered unsuc-
" cessful, by the demand which the Emperor
" Joseph the Second made, about the same
" time, of the Princess Elizabeth of Wirtem-
" berg, for his Nephew, Francis, hereditary
" Prince of Tuscany, now Emperor of Austria;
" a marriage which was actually accomplished
" early in 1788.

" When the Prince of Wirtemberg arrived " in the Capital of the Russian Empire, this " alliance above mentioned, was already set- " tled; or at least, was too far advanced, to " be overturned by his interference. After " making, therefore, every effort in his pow- " er, through the Grand Duchess, to pre- " vent its accomplishment; and finding these " exertions fruitless, he returned to Potzdam. " Whether Frederic suspected any duplicity " or insincerity on his part; or, whether it " was the result merely of disappointment; it " is certain that he received the Prince very " coldly: and the Empress of Russia having " soon afterwards invited him into her service, " he quitted that of Prussia, and revisited " Petersburgh. She employed him in the " war that began in 1787 against the Turks, " and he commanded one of the three armies " which took the field. The Van, consisting " of forty thousand men, was entrusted to " him. He is said to have displayed great " military talent, to have distinguished him- " self much, and to have rendered essential " services to Catherine.

" At the time that he entered the Russian " service, he carried the Princess his wife with

" him to Petersburgh, as well as the two sons
" and daughter which she had brought him.
" Being in the flower of her youth, endowed
" with many amiable qualities of mind and
" of deportment, she soon became a favourite
" of Catherine; in whose society and inti-
" mate confidence she occupied a distinguish-
" ed place. It can hardly however excite
" astonishment, that such an intercourse
" should have been calculated to corrupt her
" morals. The Court and Palace of the Em-
" press, were scenes of dissipation and licen-
" tiousness. Yet, when the Prince went to
" serve against the Turks, he, of necessity
" left his wife exposed to all these tempta-
" tions. In effect, during his absence, she
" conducted herself so imprudently, that
" when he returned, after the conclusion of
" the Campaign, to Petersburgh, he found
" himself under a necessity of adopting some
" strong measures respecting her. Being
" placed in this painful situation, he wrote to
" her father, the Duke of Brunswic, inform-
" ing him of his daughter's misconduct, and
" consulting him on the mode of action pro-
" per to be pursued. It was agreed between
" them, that as a preliminary step, she should
" be removed out of Russia; and the Prince

" accordingly demanded Catherine's permis-
" sion to quit her dominions, together with
" his wife and his family. The Empress al-
" lowed him to retire, and to take with him
" his children; but she peremptorily refused to
" permit him to carry his wife back to Ger-
" many. All remonstrance proving vain, the
" Princess therefore remained behind, and he
" quitted Petersburgh, with his sons and
" daughter, to return to Wirtemberg.

" About a fortnight after his departure, the
" Princess, without any reason assigned, was
" sent by the order of Catherine, to the Cas-
" tle of Lhode, about two hundred miles
" from Petersburgh; but, in what part or
" province of that vast empire, I am unable
" to assert. There, it seems, under close con-
" finement, she remained about eighteen
" months: but, all her German attendants,
" male and female, were withdrawn from
" her. At the end of that time, the Prince
" received letters from the Empress, inform-
" ing him that his wife was dead of *an Hemor-*
" *rhage*. Similar information was conveyed
" by Catherine, to the Duke of Brunswic,
" the unfortunate Princess's father. No par-
" ticulars were stated; nor, as far as appears,

" were any other circumstances ever known
" respecting her. Thus situated, the Duke
" of Brunswic, conscious that he could nei-
" ther bring his daughter to life, nor call the
" Empress to account, acquiesced patiently
" in the calamity: but, during some years,
" he did not communicate to the Duchess his
" wife, the intelligence of her daughter's
" death. She, therefore, remaining in igno-
" rance of the Catastrophe, continued to be-
" lieve that the Princess was still confined at
" Lhode, or somewhere in the Deserts of Rus-
" sia. The Duchess used even to speak of her,
" as being alive in Siberia; and this fact will
" account for the universality of the report."

If the account given me by Sir John Dick, relative to the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff, left many circumstances dark and unexplained in the history of that female; it must be owned that, after considering this narrative, no less uncertainty still pervades the story of the Princess of Wirtemberg. It is natural to ask, why did Catherine cause the Princess to be imprisoned, or poisoned? Her gallantries, however culpable or notorious they might be, yet constituted no crime against the Empress of Russia; who exhibited in her own conduct, an

example of emancipation from all restraint and decorum on the article of female irregularities. It was the Prince, her husband, whom she had dishonoured and incensed. What proof is adduced, except assertion, that he did not know of the intentions of Catherine to confine and banish her? In the case of Peter the Third, and of Ivan; as well as in the instances of the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and of the first Grand Duchess of Russsia; the motives for her commission of a crime, by putting them out of life, are obvious. But, none such appear in the instance before us. There are, moreover, other particulars which may lead us to hesitate in forming a decisive opinion on the subject. The death of the Princess of Wirtemberg at Lhode, was announced and stated in all the German Almanacks, printed by authority, to have taken place on "the 27th September, 1788." Her husband remained a widower, near eight years after that event, before he attempted to obtain the hand of the Princess Royal of Great Britain. During so long a period of time, he seems to have adopted no measures for repelling the calumnious reports circulated all over Europe, of his participation in the death of his wife: reports which had made

the most unfavourable impression, even in England. It is true that George the Third became convinced of his innocence, before he consented to the union of the Prince with his eldest daughter. But, though the King yielded to the proofs brought upon this point, yet it is well known that he did it with reluctance and hesitation; rather giving way to the Princess's avowed wishes on the subject, than himself desiring, or approving the match. So far indeed was he from pushing forward the alliance, that I know from good authority, he offered the Princess, after all the preliminaries were adjusted, and the marriage was fixed, to break it off, if she chose to decline it; taking on himself personally, the whole responsibility of its failure. There remains still another important fact, which merits consideration. We have seen that Count Woronzoff originally maintained his Sovereign's innocence of the Princess's death, though he was afterwards induced to depart from that assertion. But, *when* did he make such an admission? Much depends on the time. For, Catherine died on the 6th of November, 1796; and after her death, a crime, more or less, might not appear to be of much consequence, where so many could be justly attributed to her. Cer-

tain it is, that the Negociation advanced much more rapidly after the decease of the Empress, and on the 18th of May, 1797, the nuptials were solemnized. Over the nature, as well as over the author, of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's death, a deep or impenetrable veil is drawn. We must leave it to time to unfold, if it does not rather remain, as is more probable, for ever problematical.

Before I quit this subject, I cannot help remarking, that during the course of the eighteenth Century, the family of Brunswic, in its different Branches, produced no less than five Princesses, who exhibited in succession, the most conspicuous examples of human infelicity. The first of them was Sophia of Brunswic *Zell*, married to George the First; who, for her alledged, but unproved Gallantries with Count Konigsmark, was confined during near forty years, at the sequestered seat of Ahlden, in the Electorate of Hanover, where she expired in 1726. Charlotte-Christina of Brunswic *Blankenburg*, who espoused in 1711, the Czarowitz Alexis, only son of Peter the Great; a Princess endowed by Nature, with almost every amiable and estimable quality of body and of mind;

equally beautiful and virtuous; fell a victim, in the flower of her youth, to the ferocious treatment that she experienced from her husband. She died at Petersburgh, in child-bed, at twenty-one years of age, in 1715; lamented by the whole Empire, except by Alexis, whose brutal character rendered him incapable of appreciating her value. Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel* furnished the next instance, in the person of Elizabeth, married in 1765, to the late King of Prussia, then only Prince Royal; divorced four years afterwards, for her irregularities; confined at Stettin, where I have seen her in 1774; and who, I believe, still survives, forgotten and unknown, in some part of the Prussian dominions, after having witnessed the temporary subversion of her own house, and the calamities inflicted on that of Brandenburgh, by Bonaparte. Caroline Matilda, of Brunswic *Lunenburgh*, posthumous daughter of Frederic, late Prince of Wales, and sister of George the Third, is the fourth in this enumeration. Banished by a Revolution, from Denmark, in 1772, effected in the name of Christian the Seventh, her imbecile husband; she only survived it about three years, terminating her short career, in the prime of

life, at Zell, in 1775. Augusta Caroline, of Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel*, whose melancholy history, and whose ambiguous end, we have been surveying, closes the list. It must be esteemed singular, that in the lapse of scarcely a hundred years, such a fatality should seem to have marked so many females of that illustrious family.

In the Autumn of 1778, I visited Dresden for the second time: a Court which was rendered peculiarly agreeable to the English at that period, by the hospitality and polished manners of His Majesty's Minister to Saxony, Sir John Stepney; one of the finest Gentlemen who has been employed on foreign Missions, during the course of the present reign. Dresden was then a place where the *Illuminés* had made a deep and general impression on the public mind; Schrepfer having chosen it, only a few years earlier, for the scene of his famous Exhibition of the Apparition of the Chevalier de Saxe. Having given, in a former work, some account of that extraordinary imposition, I shall not resume the subject here; but I cannot help relating another somewhat similar story, which was told me, during my residence in Dresden, by the

Count de Felkesheim. He was a Livonian Gentleman, settled in Saxony, of a very improved understanding, equally superior to credulity, as to superstition. Being together in the month of October, 1778, and our discourse accidentally turning on the character and performances of Schrepfer; "I have conversed," said he to me, "with several of the individuals "who were present at the scene of the spec- "tre or phantom, presented by him in the "gallery of the palace of the Duke of Cour- "land. They all agreed in their account of "the leading particulars. Though I do not "pretend to explain by what process or ma- "chinery, that business was conducted, I "have always considered him as an artful "impostor, and his audience as dupes. Yet "am I not so decidedly sceptical on the "possibility of supernatural appearances, as "to treat them with ridicule, because they "may seem to be unphilosophical. I re- "ceived my education in the university of "Konigsberg, where I had the advantage of "attending Lectures in Ethics and Moral "Philosophy, delivered by a Professor who "was esteemed a very superior man in those "branches of science. He had, nevertheless, "though an Ecclesiastic, the reputation of

" being tinctured with incredulity, on various
" points connected with revealed Religion.
" When, therefore, it became necessary for
" him, in the course of his Lectures, to treat
" on the nature of Spirit, as detached from
" Matter; to discuss the Immortality of
" the Soul; and to enter on the Doctrine
" of a Future State; I listened with more
" than ordinary attention, to his opinions.
" In speaking of all these mysterious subjects,
" there appeared to me to be so visible an
" embarrassment, both in his language and
" his expressions, that I felt the strongest
" curiosity to question him further respect-
" ing them. Finding myself alone with him
" soon afterwards, I ventured to state to
" him my remarks on his deportment, and
" I entreated him to tell me if they were well
" founded, or only imaginary suggestions.

" The hesitation which you noticed," answered he, " resulted from the conflict that
" takes place within me, when I am attempt-
" ing to convey my ideas on a subject, where
" my understanding is at variance with the
" testimony of my senses. I am, equally from
" reason and reflexion, disposed to consider
" with incredulity and contempt, the exist-

" tence of Apparitions. But, a circumstance
" which I have witnessed with my own eyes,
" as far as they, or any of the perceptions
" can be confided in ; and which has even
" received a sort of subsequent confirmation,
" from other circumstances connected with
" the original fact, leave me in that state of
" Scepticism and suspense which pervaded
" my discourse. I will communicate to you
" its cause. Having been brought up to
" the profession of the church, I was pre-
" sented by Frederic William the First, late
" King of Prussia, to a small Benefice situated
" in the interior of the country, at a con-
" siderable distance South of Konigsberg.
" I repaired thither, in order to take posses-
" sion of my Living, and found a very neat
" Parsonage House, where I passed the night
" in the bed-chamber which had been oc-
" cupied by my predecessor. It was in the
" longest days of Summer; and on the fol-
" lowing morning, which was Sunday, while
" lying awake, the curtains of the bed being
" undrawn, and it being broad daylight, I
" beheld the figure of a man, habited in
" a sort of loose gown, standing at a read-
" ing desk, on which lay a large book, the
" leaves of which he appeared to turn over at

" intervals. On each side of him stood a " little boy, in whose faces he looked earn- " estly from time to time ; and as he looked, " he seemed always to heave a deep sigh. His " countenance, pale and disconsolate, indi- " cated severe distress of mind. I had the most " perfect view of these objects ; but being " impressed with too much terror and appre- " hension to rise, or to address myself to the " appearances before me, I remained for " some time a silent and breathless spec- " tator, without uttering a word, or altering " my position. At length, the man closed " the book, and then taking the two children, " one in each hand, he led them slowly " across the room ; my eyes eagerly following " him, till the three figures gradually disap- " peared, or were lost behind an iron Stove, " which stood at the farthest corner of the " apartment.

" However deeply and awfully I was af- " fected by the sight which I had witnessed, " and however incapable I was of explaining " it to my own satisfaction, yet I recovered " sufficiently the possession of my mind, to " get up ; and having hastily dressed myself, " I left the house. The sun was long risen,

" and directing my steps to the Church, I " found that it was open; but the Sexton " had quitted it, and on entering the Chancel, " my mind and imagination were so strongly " impressed by the scene which had recently " passed, that I endeavoured to dissipate the " recollection, by considering the objects " around me. In almost all the Lutheran " Churches of the Prussian dominions, it is " an establised usage to hang up against the " walls of some part of the building, the " portraits of the successive Pastors or Cler- " gymen, who have held the Living. A num- " ber of these paintings, rudely performed, " were suspended in one of the Ayles. But " I had no sooner fixed my eyes on the last " in the range, which was the portrait of my " immediate predecessor, than they became " rivetted to the object; as I instantly re- " cognized the same face which I had beheld " in my bed-chamber, though not clouded " by the same deep expression of melancholy " or distress.

" The Sexton entered, as I was still contem- " plating this interesting head, and I immedi- " ately began a conversation with him, on " the subject of the persons who had pre-

" ceded me in the Living. He remembered " several Incumbents, concerning whom, re- " spectively, I made various enquiries, till " I concluded by the last, relative to whose " history I was particularly inquisitive." " We " considered him," said the Sexton, " as one " of the most learned and amiable men who " have ever resided among us. His charities " and benevolence endeared him to all his " parishioners, who will long lament his loss. " But he was carried off in the middle of " his days, by a lingering illness, the cause " of which has given rise to many unplea- " sant reports among us, and which still " form matter of conjecture. It is however " commonly believed, that he died of a " broken heart." My curiosity being still more warmly excited by the mention of this circumstance, I eagerly pressed him to disclose to me what he knew or had heard, on the subject. " Nothing," answered he, " is abso- " lutely known, but scandal had propagated " a story of his having formed a criminal " connection with a young woman of the " neighbourhood, by whom, it was even as- " serted, that he had two sons. As a con- " firmation of the report, I know that there " certainly were two children, who have been

" seen at the parsonage; boys of about four " or five years old. But they suddenly " disappeared, some time before the decease " of their supposed father; though to what " place they are sent, or what is become of " them, we are wholly ignorant. It is equally " certain, that the surmises and unfavourable " opinions formed respecting this mysterious " business, which must necessarily have " reached him, precipitated, if they did not " produce the disorder, of which our late " Pastor died: but he is gone to his account, " and we are bound to think charitably of the " departed."

" It is unnecessary to say with what emo- " tions I listened to this relation, which re- " called to my imagination, and seemed to " give proof of the existence, of all that I " had seen. Yet, unwilling to suffer my mind " to become enslaved by Phantoms which " might have been the effect of error or de- " ception, I neither communicated to the " Sexton, the circumstance which I had just " witnessed, nor even permitted myself to " quit the chamber where it had taken place. " I continued to lodge there, without ever " again witnessing any similar appearance;

" and the recollection itself insensibly began
" to wear away, as the Autumn advanced.
" When the approach of Winter rendered it
" necessary to light fires through the house,
" I ordered the iron Stove that stood in the
" room, and behind which the figure which I
" had beheld, together with the two boys,
" seemed to disappear, to be heated for the
" purpose of warming the apartment. Some
" difficulty was experienced in making the
" attempt, the Stove not only smoking into-
" lerably, but, emitting a most offensive smell.
" Having, therefore, sent for a blacksmith to
" inspect and repair it, he discovered in the
" inside, at the farthest extremity, the bones
" of two small human bodies, corresponding
" perfectly in size, as well as in other re-
" spects, with the description given me by the
" Sexton, of the two boys who had been seen
" at the parsonage. This last circumstance
" completed my astonishment, and appeared
" to confer a sort of reality on an appearance,
" which might otherwise have been considered
" as a delusion of the senses. I resigned the
" Living, quitted the place, and returned to
" Konigsberg; but it has produced upon my
" mind the deepest impression, and has, in
" its effects, given rise to that uncertainty

" and contradiction of sentiment which you " remarked in my late discourse." Such was Count Felkesheim's story, which, from its singularity, appeared to me deserving of commemoration, in whatever contempt we may hold similar anecdotes.

One of the most interesting portions of my life, was the time that I passed at Naples, in the summer of 1779. Sir William Hamilton, His Majesty's Minister, constituted in himself the greatest source of entertainment, no less than of instruction, which that Capital then afforded to strangers. He honored me with his friendship, which he continued to the end of his life. In his person, tho' tall and meagre, with a dark complexion, a very aquiline nose, and a figure which always reminded me of *Rolando* in "Gil Blas;" he had nevertheless such an air of intelligence, blended with distinction in his countenance, as powerfully attracted and conciliated every beholder. His mother, Lady Archibald Hamilton, enjoyed, as is well known, a very distinguished place in the favour of Frederic, late Prince of Wales; and Sir William himself was brought up from early life, with His present Majesty, to whom he became, after his accession to the

Crown, an Equerry. At a very early period he entered into the army, and was at the battle of Fontenoy, as well as, I think, at that of La Feldt. I wish that it were possible to relate with delicacy, an Anecdote that he recounted to me, of the former action. "We were exposed," said he, "on that occasion, as is "well known, to a very severe and murderous fire of artillery, for a long time, without "the power of moving: so peremptory were "the orders issued, that we should remain "on the ground where we were stationed. "The cannon balls, from time to time, swept "away whole Files, and produced sensations "by no means agreeable, even among the "firmest persons present. I had then an opportunity of seeing exemplified, the physical "effects of fear on the human body. Many "of the British Grenadiers, though capable of "actively facing death in any shape, and ardently desirous to march against the enemy, "yet experienced, internally and involuntarily, the most violent pains. Unable to "support them, pressed by an irresistable "necessity, and compelled to remain fixed in "the same place, several of them *se detrous-*"*soient, presentoient le derriere aux canons de* "*l'ennemi, & firent feu;* thus endeavouring to

" exhibit a proof of their contempt for the " very danger, of which they felt within " themselves the strongest sensations."

The versatility of Sir William Hamilton's character, constituted one of the most interesting features of his composition. Endowed with a superior understanding, a philosophic mind, and a strong inclination to the study of many branches of science, or of polite letters, which, as is well known, he cultivated with distinguished success; he was equally keen as a sportsman, in all the exercises of the field. After being actively occupied in studying the Phenomena of Vesuvius, like the Elder Pliny; or in exploring the antiquities of Pompæia, and of Stabia, with as much enthusiasm as Pausanias did those of antient Greece; he would pass whole days, and almost weeks, with the King of Naples, either hunting or shooting in the royal woods; or more laboriously engaged in an open boat, exposed to the rays of a burning sun, harpooning fish in the bay of Castellamare. When beyond seventy years of age, he preserved undiminished his love of these sports, particularly of fishing, which he followed with great ardour; thus mingling pursuits or passions of the mind and

of the body, rarely united in the same man. I have seen him, not more than two years before his decease, perform the "Tarentella," an Apulian Dance, which, as it is undoubtedly a copy of the Bacchant amusements of Antiquity, demanded no slender portion of animal strength and spirits. The occasion was so remarkable, that I am induced to relate the particulars. Intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by the English fleet under Lord Nelson, before Copenhagen, arrived in London, on Wednesday, the 15th of April, 1801. Sir William Hamilton then resided in Piccadilly. About ten o'clock, that evening, I went to his house, with Sir John Macpherson. We found assembled there, the Dukes of Gordon and Queensberry, Lord William Gordon, Monsieur de Calonne, Mr. Charles Greville, (Sir William's nephew,) the Duke de Noia, who was a Neapolitan nobleman, Mr. Kemble, the celebrated Comedian, and his wife, the Reverend Mr. Nelson, now Earl of that name, with some other persons. Lady Hamilton, inspired by the recent success of Lord Nelson against the Danes, of which victory he had transmitted her, with his remaining hand, all the particulars as they occurred, from the 1st, up to the 8th of April, the day

when the dispatches came away; after playing on the Harpsichord, and accompanying it with her voice, undertook to dance the "Tarentella."

Sir William began it with her, and maintained the conflict, for such it might well be esteemed, for some minutes. When unable longer to continue it, the Duke de Noia succeeded to his place; but he, too, though near forty years younger than Sir William, soon gave in. Lady Hamilton then sent for her own maid servant; who being likewise exhausted, after a short time, another female attendant, a Copt, perfectly black, whom Lord Nelson had presented her, on his return from Egypt, relieved her companion. It would be difficult to convey any adequate idea of this Dance; but the *Fandango* and *Seguedilla* of the Spaniards present an image of it. We must recollect that the two performers are supposed to be a Satyr and a Nymph; or, rather, a Fawn and a Bacchant. It was certainly not of a nature to be performed, except before a select company; as the screams, attitudes, starts, and embraces, with which it was intermingled, gave it a peculiar character. I only mentioned

it, in order to shew Sir William Hamilton's activity and gaiety at that advanced period of life. Though a finished Courtier, he preserved such an independance of manner, without any mixture of servility or adulation, as seemed eminently to qualify him for the diplomatic profession. His conversation offered a rich diversity of anecdote. With these qualifications, it cannot excite wonder that he formed the delight and ornament of the Court of Naples. No foreign Minister, not even the *family* embassadors of France and Spain resident there, enjoyed in so eminent a degree the favor or affection of His Sicilian Majesty. Nor was the attachment of that Prince to Sir William, merely limited to hunting, or fishing parties. He gave the English Envoy many solid proofs of sincere regard; a regard that extended to the British crown and nation. One striking instance of this partiality took place in June, 1779, while I was at Naples. The King of Spain, Charles the Third, having written confidentially to his son Ferdinand, that he should probably be induced soon to take part with Louis the Sixteenth, by entering into a war with Great Britain, as he effectively did immediately afterwards; the King of Naples, though en-

joined by his father to secrecy, communicated the letter itself to Sir William Hamilton. He even accompanied the disclosure, with the assurance of his deep regret at such a line of policy, and his firm determination never to enter into the combination against England, though himself a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and included in "the Family Com-"pact" by name. Sir William transmitted the King's communication, as well as his assurance on the point, without delay to Lord North, then first Minister. I received this anecdote from himself at Naples.

It was in Sir William's, and the first Lady Hamilton's company, that I learned a number of curious, as well as authentic particulars relative to the King and Queen of Naples. Ferdinand the Fourth was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; tall, muscular, and active in his frame, capable of immense fatigue, and apparently formed for long life. His features were coarse and harsh, his nose immoderately long, like that of his father and brother, Charles the Third, and Charles the Fourth, Kings of Spain: but, nevertheless, though the component parts of his face might separately be esteemed ugly, the general ex-

pression of his countenance had in it something intelligent, and even agreeable. There was an unpolished simplicity, or rather a rude nature, in his manner, attitudes, deportment, and conversation, which pleased for a double reason; on account of its own intrinsic claim to be liked, and as being rarely found on a throne, where we naturally expect disguise, artifice, and habits of concealment. If he conversed little with strangers, he seemed at least, when he talked, always to say what he thought; and he betrayed no defect of natural understanding, though he was altogether destitute of that elegance and art, which frequently veil the want of information. He always reminded me of a rustic, elevated by fortune or accident, to a Crown: but it was an amiable, honest, sensible, well intentioned rustic, not altogether unworthy of such an elevation.

The Queen of Naples, who was not quite twenty-seven years old at this time, seemed much better fitted to represent the Majesty of the Throne, and to do the honors of a Court. Though neither possessing beauty of face, nor loveliness of person, yet was she not absolutely deficient in either; and if her figure might be esteemed too large, still it wanted neither

grace, dignity, nor even attractions. She is the only Queen whom I ever saw weep in public, before a croud of both sexes, assembled in her own Palace, on a Gala Day. The Festival on which I was presented to her, happened to be the anniversary of the loss of her eldest son, who expired exactly a year before, in 1778. He was a very fine boy, of promising expectations, to whom his mother was passionately attached. The ignorance of the Neapolitan Physicians, as it was believed, had caused his death: for, being seized with a violent sickness and pain in his stomach, from which, an Emetick, promptly administered, might probably have relieved him, they had the imprudence to bleed him, and thereby brought on fatal convulsions. Such was the Queen's distress, at the recollection of the event which had taken place on this painful anniversary, that she was unable to repress her emotions. In the Presence Chamber of the Palace at Naples, she stood under a Canopy, her right hand held out to the Nobility and Courtiers, as they approached to kiss it; holding in her left, a handkerchief with which she perpetually wiped her eyes, that were suffused in tears. It was difficult not to be favorably impressed towards a Princess, capable of giving such an involuntary testimony

of her maternal tenderness, in a place and situation, where it was impossible to suspect her of artifice or affectation.

Having drawn this imperfect outline of the King and Queen of Naples, from my own personal observations, I shall enumerate some of the particulars respecting them, which I collected in the course of conversation from Sir William or Lady Hamilton. I mean, his first wife, who was a most accomplished and superior woman.

" No European Sovereign, without excep-
" tion," said Sir William, " has been so
" ill educated as the King of Naples. He
" is not even master of any language, except
" Italian, without making a painful effort ;
" and his ordinary Italian is a Neapolitan dia-
" lect, such as the lowest of his subjects, the
" *Lazaroni*, speak in their intercourse with
" each other. It is true that he understands
" French, and converses in it when indispen-
" sable ; but he rarely reads any French au-
" thor, and still more rarely attempts to write
" in that language. All the correspondence
" that takes place between him and his Fa-
" ther, the King of Spain, is carried on in the

" common Neapolitan Jargon. They write
" very frequently and largely to each other;
" but seldom does this intercourse embrace
" political subjects: their letters, of which
" I have seen numbers, being filled with
" accounts of the quantity and variety of
" the game respectively killed by them, in
" which the great ambition of each Prince, is
" to exceed the other. Ferdinand, indeed,
" who scarcely ever reads, considers as the
" greatest of misfortunes, a rainy day, when
" the weather proves too bad for him to go
" out to the chace. On such occasions, re-
" course is had to every expedient by which
" time may be killed, in order to dissipate
" His Majesty's Ennui, even to the most
" puerile and childish pastimes. The King's
" education was systematically neglected:
" for Charles the Third, alarmed at the im-
" becility of his eldest son, Philip, Duke of
" Calabria, who, on account of his recognized
" debility of understanding, was wholly set
" aside from the right of succession, strictly
" ordered, at his departure for Spain, in
" 1759, that this, his third son, should not
" be compelled to apply to any severe stu-
" dies, or be made to exert any close ap-
" plication of mind.

" I have frequently seen the unfortunate " Duke of Calabria, who has only been dead a " few years, and who was by birth heir to the " Spanish Monarchy. He attained to man- " hood, and was treated with certain distinc- " tions, having Chamberlains placed about him " in constant attendance, who watched him " with unremitting attention ; as otherwise " he would have committed a thousand ex- " cesses. Care was particularly taken to " keep him from having any connexion with " the other sex, for which he manifested the " strongest propensity ; but it became at " last impossible to prevent him altogether " from attempting to emancipate himself in " this respect. He has many times eluded " the vigilance of his keepers, and on seeing " ladies pass through the apartments of the " palace, would attack them with the same " impetuosity as Pan, or the Satyrs are " described by Ovid, when pursuing the " Nymphs ; and with the same intentions. " More than one Lady of the Court has been " critically rescued from his embraces. On " particular days of the year, he was allowed " to hold a sort of Court or Levee, when " the foreign Ministers repaired to his apart- " ments, to pay their compliments to him :

" but his greatest amusement consisted in " having his hand held up by his attendants, " while gloves were put upon it, one larger " than another, to the number of fifteen or " sixteen. His death was justly considered " as a fortunate event, under such circum- " stances of incurable imbecility.

" Before the present King fully attained " his seventeenth year, the Marquis Tanucci, " then Prime Minister, by directions sent " from the Court of Madrid, provided him " a wife. The Archduchess Josepha, one of " the daughters of the Empress Maria The- " resa, being selected for Queen of Naples; " and being represented to young Ferdinand, " as a Princess equally amiable in her mind, " as she was agreable in her person; he ex- " pected her arrival with great pleasure, " mingled even with some impatience. So " much more severely was it natural that he " should feel the melancholy intelligence, " when it arrived from Vienna, that she was " dead of the small-pox. In fact, he mani- " fested as much concern at the event, as " could perhaps be expected in a Prince of " his disposition, and at his time of life, for " the death of a person whom he had never

" seen. But, a circumstance which greatly
" augmented his chagrin on the occasion was,
" it's being considered indispensable for him
" not to take his usual diversion of hunting
" or fishing, on the day that the account
" reached Naples. Ferdinand reluctantly
" submitted to such a painful and unusual
" renunciation: but, having consented to it
" from a sense of decorum, he immediately
" set about endeavouring to amuse himself
" within doors, in the best manner that cir-
" cumstances would admit; an attempt in
" which he was aided by the Noblemen in
" waiting about his person. They began there-
" fore with Billiards, a game which His Ma-
" jesty likes, and at which he plays with skill.
" When they had continued it for some time,
" leap-frog was tried, to which succeeded
" various other feats of agility or gambols.
" At length, one of the gentlemen, more
" ingenious than the others, proposed to ce-
" lebrate the funeral of the deceased Arch-
" Duchess. The idea, far from shocking the
" King, appeared to him, and to the whole
" company, as most entertaining; and no re-
" flexions, either on the indecorum, or want
" of apparent humanity in the proceeding,
" interposed to prevent its immediate reali-

" zation. Having selected one of the Cham-
" berlains, as proper, from his youth and fe-
" minine appearance, to represent the Prin-
" cess, they habited him in a manner suitable
" to the mournful occasion; laid him out on
" an open Bier, according to the Neapolitan
" custom at interments; and in order to
" render the ceremony more appropriate, as
" well as more accurately correct, they mark-
" ed his face and hands with Chocolate drops,
" which were designed to imitate the pustules
" of the small-pox. All the Apparatus being
" ready, the funeral procession began, and pro-
" ceeded through the principal Apartments of
" the palace at Portici, Ferdinand officiating as
" Chief Mourner. Having heard of the Arch-
" Duchess's decease, I had gone thither on
" that day, in order to make my condolence
" privately to His Majesty on the misfortune;
" and entering at the time, I became an eye-
" witness of this extraordinary scene, which,
" in any other country of Europe, would be
" considered as incredible, and would not
" obtain belief.

" The Arch-Duchess Caroline being sub-
" stituted in place of her sister, and being
" soon afterwards conducted from Vienna to

" Naples, the King advanced in person, as far
" as the 'Portella,' where the Neapolitan and
" Papal territories divide, in order to receive
" his new bride. She was then not sixteen
" years old, and though she could not by any
" means be esteemed handsome, yet she pos-
" sessed many charms. Ferdinand manifested
" on his part, neither ardor nor indifference
" for the Queen. On the morning after his
" nuptials, which took place in the beginning
" of May, 1768, when the weather was very
" warm, he rose at an early hour, and went
" out, as usual to the chace, leaving his
" young wife in bed. Those Courtiers who
" accompanied him, having inquired of His
" Majesty how he liked her; '*Dormé com un*
" '*amazzata*,' replied he, '*et suda com un*
" '*Porco*.' Such an answer would be esteem-
" ed, any where except at Naples, most inde-
" corous; but here we are familiarized to
" far greater violations of propriety and de-
" cency. Those acts and functions which
" are never mentioned in England, and
" which are there studiously concealed, even
" by the vulgar, here are openly performed.
" When the King has made a hearty meal,
" and feels an inclination to retire, he com-
" monly communicates that intention to the

" Noblemen around him in waiting, and se-
" lects the favoured individuals, whom, as a
" mark of predilection, he chuses shall attend
" him. ' *Sono ben pransato,*' says he, laying
" his hand on his belly, ' *Adesso bisogna un*
" ' *buona panchiata.*' The persons thus pre-
" ferred, then accompany His Majesty, stand
" respectfully round him, and amuse him by
" their conversation, during the performance."

However strong this fact may appear, and however repugnant to our ideas of decency; it has been for successive centuries, perfectly consonant to the manners of the Italians in general, and scarcely less so to those of the French. D'Aubigné, a grave writer, in the " Memoirs of his own Life," does not hesitate to relate in the most circumstantial manner, the narrow escape which Henry the Fourth, his master, had of being knocked on the head, while engaged in this necessary function. Nay, D'Aubigné composed a " *Quatrain*" on the adventure, which he has transmitted to posterity. The story is so naturally related, and is so characteristic of the nation, that I can't resist giving it in the words of the author, which I shall not however venture to translate. Henry, who was then only King of

Navarre, having effected his escape from Paris, in 1575, on which occasion D'Aubigné accompanied him; they passed the River Seine at Poissy, and soon afterwards stopped to refresh themselves in a village. Here, says D'Aubigné, the King "*etant allé faire ses* "*affaires dans un tet à cochons, une vieille qui* "*le surprit en cet état, lui auroit fendue la tête* "*par derrière, d'un coup de Serpe, sans moi* "*qui parai le coup.*" It is clear from this circumstance, that D'Aubigné must have been close to his royal master at the time. Then follows the ludicrous Epitaph which he made for the occasion, on a supposition that the old woman had killed the King.

"Cy git un Roi, grand par merveille,
Qui mourut comme Dieu permet,
D'un coup de serpe d'un vieille,
Ainsi qu'il chioit dans un tet."

His predecessor, Henry the Third, it is well known, was stabbed in the belly, of which wound he died, in 1589, while sitting on the *Chaise percée;* in which indecorous situation he did not scruple to give audience to Clement, the regicide Monk, who assassinated him. Marshal Suwarrow, in our own time, received his Aids du Camp and his General Officers, precisely in a similar manner. Ma-

Madame de Maintenon, as the Duke de St. Simon informs us, thought those moments so precious, that she commonly accompanied Louis the Fourteenth to the "Garderobe." So did Louvois, when Minister of State. The Duke de Vendome, while commanding the Armies of France in Spain and Italy, at the commencement of the last Century, was accustomed to receive the greatest personages, on public business, in the same situation. We have Cardinal Alberoni's authority for this fact. If we read the account written by Du Bois, of the last illness of Louis the Thirteenth, we may there see what humiliating functions Anne of Austria performed for that Prince in the course of his malady; over which, an English writer, more fastidious, would have drawn a veil. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the Palatine Duchess of Orleans, though women of the highest birth and rank, as well as of unimpeached conduct, conceal nothing on these points, in their writings. The former, speaking of the Duchess of Orleans, her step-mother, second wife of Gaston, brother of Louis the Thirteenth, says, "She had contracted a "singular habit of always running into an- "other room, *pour se placer sur la Chaise*

"*percée*, when dinner was announced. As "she never failed in this particular, the "Grand Maitre, or Lord Steward of Gaston's "Household, who performed the ceremony "of summoning their Royal Highnesses to "table; observed, smelling to his Baton of "office, that there must certainly be either "Senna or Rhubarb in its composition, as it "invariably produced the effect of sending "the Duchess to the Garderobe." I have, myself, seen the late Electress Dowager of Saxony, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Seventh, at her own palace, in the suburbs of Dresden, rise from the table where she was playing, when the room has been full of company of both sexes; lay down her cards, retire for a few minutes, during which time the game was suspended, and then return, observing to those near her, "*J'ai pris Medicine* "*aujourd'huy.*" These circumstances sufficiently prove that Ferdinand, however gross his manners or language seem to us, by no means shocked the feelings, or excited the disgust of his own courtiers.

"In all the exercises or exertions of the "body, that demand vigour and address," continued Sir William, "the King of Na-

" ples excels. He might have contended
" for the prize at the public games of
" ancient Greece, at Elis, or at Olympia,
" with no ordinary prospect of success. He
" likes, in particular, wrestling, and having
" heard that a young Irish Gentleman of
" the name of Bourke, who visited Naples
" not long since, was an expert Wrestler,
" he caused it to be signified, that he should
" like to try a fall with that foreigner:
" but, Bourke had the good sense to decline
" a contest for the honors of the Palæstra,
" with a crowned head. He dances violently
" at the Court Balls; on one of which oc-
" casions, some years ago, I witnessed a scene
" truly original, as well as comic. When his
" brother-in-law, the Emperor Joseph, being
" on his travels, arrived here, a superb Ball
" was given in honor of his visit; at which
" entertainment, however, he declined mix-
" ing in the Dance. While his Imperial Ma-
" jesty was standing near the dancers, en-
" gaged in conversation with me; Ferdinand
" having gone down the set, and being in a
" most profuse state of perspiration, pulled
" open his waistcoat: then taking Joseph's
" hand, he applied it suddenly to his own
" shirt behind, exclaiming at the same time

" ' *Sentité qui, Fratello mio.*' The Emperor " instantly withdrew his hand, not without " manifesting great discomposure ; and the " two Sovereigns remained for a few seconds, " looking in each other's faces. Surprize " was equally painted in the features of " both; for, as the one had never before " been invited to try such an experiment, so " the other had never found any individual " who did not esteem himself honored by the " familiarity. I had no little difficulty to " restrain the muscles of my countenance on " the occasion.

" Joseph, who held his brother-in-law's un- " derstanding in great contempt, endeavoured " to assume over him the sort of superiority, " arrogated by a strong, over a weak mind. " But Ferdinand, though confessedly his in- " ferior in cultivation and refinement, was by " no means disposed to adopt his political " opinions or ideas. He even manifested, in " various conversations, and on many occa- " sions, that, defective as his education had " been, he possessed as much plain sense, " and even acute discernment, as the Em- " peror, or his brother Leopold, Grand Duke " of Tuscany. Joseph did not, indeed, in-

" spire any very high admiration, by his de-
" portment, or general conduct, while he re-
" mained at Naples. He was irritable, and
" even irascible, where he should have shewn
" good humour, or command of temper. I
" accompanied him to the summit of Ve-
" suvius, and with concern saw him break
" his cane over the shoulders of the Guide,
" Bartolomeo, for some slight offence which
" he had given his Imperial Majesty.

" Ferdinand's passions are all swallowed
" up in his rage for the pleasures of the field;
" hunting, shooting, and fishing: for, this
" last diversion, peculiarly adapted to the
" climate of Naples, must be included in the
" number. He thinks no fatigue, and no
" privations, too great for its indulgence.
" The quantity of game, by which I princi-
" pally mean deer, wild boar of all ages,
" and stags of every kind, preserved in the
" Royal woods or parks, at Astruni, at
" Caserta, Caccia Bella, and other places,
" exceeds belief. And the slaughter made
" of them in some of the hunting parties,
" is equally beyond credibility. I have fre-
" quently seen a heap, composed only of the
" offal or bowels, reaching as high as my

" head, and many feet in circumference.
" The King rarely misses a shot ; but, when
" he is tired with killing, then commences
" another operation. He next dissects the
" principal pieces of game, of which he sends
" presents to favored Courtiers, or distributes
" it among his attendants. In order to per-
" form this part of the diversion, he strips,
" puts on a flannel dress, takes the knife in
" hand, and, with inconceivable dexterity
" cuts up the animal. No carcass-butcher in
" Smithfield can exceed him in anatomical
" ability ; but he is frequently besmeared
" with blood from head to foot, before he has
" finished, and exhibits an extraordinary spec-
" tacle, not easily to be imagined. The
" Queen herself is sometimes obliged to be
" present at the scene, though more, as may
" be supposed, in compliance with the King's
" wish, than from her own inclination. He
" is equally indefatigable on the water, in
" harpooning or in catching fish ; particularly
" the Pesce Spada, or Sword-fish ; and he
" neither regards heat, nor cold, nor hunger,
" nor danger. On these occasions, he is usu-
" ally or always attended by a number of
" chosen Liparots, natives of the Lipari

" islands, who have been in all Ages most ex-
" pert sailors, divers, and fishermen.

" It is thus that Ferdinand passes the
" greatest portion of his time; while the
" Potentates of Germany, England, France,
" and Spain, are engaged in war. Not that
" he is indifferent to the felicity of his sub-
" jects, or regardless of the security and
" prosperity of his dominions. On the con-
" trary, his heart, which is animated with
" the best emotions towards his people, im-
" pels him to manifest it by all his measures:
" but his defects of education, render him
" shy, embarrassed, and awkward; nor have
" his Ministers any wish to awaken, or to in-
" vigorate, the faculties of his mind. Nei-
" ther Tanucci, who governed Naples dur-
" ing his Minority, nor Sambuca, the pre-
" sent First Minister, desire to see him as-
" sume an active part in the administration
" of public affairs. The Chevalier Acton,
" who is at the head of the Marine, has,
" however, begun to put the Neapolitan
" Navy in a more respectable condition,
" than it has been for several Centuries.
" Already it affords some protection to the

" coasts of Calabria and of Sicily; which " have been perpetually infested by the " Algerines, Tunisians, and other Pirates; " who were accustomed to land, and to carry " off whole villages into slavery, precisely " as Barbarossa did, two hundred years ago. " Such calamities are even now by no means " unusual. It is a fact, that I narrowly escaped " myself, some time since, in one of my ma- " ritime excursions round the Southern Pro- " vinces of the Kingdom, being surprized in " a Sparonara, while lying close under Cape " Spartivento. Lady Hamilton was of the " party, and those Barbarians would not " have respected my official character; nor " still less would they have regarded the " reclamations of this Government.

" The power of the Neapolitan Kings is " moreover fettered by many impediments " which would be very difficult to surmount, " even for a Prince of the greatest talents, or " of the most vigorous character. In Apu- " lia, as well as in Calabria and Sicily, the " great feudal Barons still retain privileges, " that render them almost independent of the " Crown; and which they consider as impre- " scriptible, having constituted their birth-

" right for Ages, under the various Dynasties
" that have reigned over this beautiful coun-
" try. The Church enjoys revenues and im-
" munities, not less incompatible in many re-
" spects, with civil order and obedience. But,
" Ferdinand is greatly beloved by his people,
" who know, and who do justice, to his good
" intentions. He is even far more popular than
" the Queen. That Princess, who possesses
" an active mind, and very considerable parts,
" as well as ambition and love of power, has
" assumed a share in the Administration,
" for which she is by no means unqualified:
" yet is she less esteemed than her husband;
" who, if he is not ardently attached to her
" as a wife, treats her at least with great
" consideration, kindness, and confidence.
" They live together in conjugal union,
" though Her Majesty is not exempt from
" the frailties and weaknesses of her sex. In-
" deed, the air, manners, and society of this
" Capital, are all very inimical to female vir-
" tue. From the time of the first Jane,
" Queen of Naples, so famous in the Annals
" of gallantry, down to the present day,
" these countries have exhibited scenes of dis-
" solute pleasure, or rather, of unrestrained
" licentiousness. They will probably ever so

" remain. Yet," concluded Sir William, " if I were compelled to be a King, I would " choose Naples for my Kingdom. Here, a " Crown has fewer thorns, than in any other " country. His very want of political power, " ensures his repose; and the storms which " desolate Europe, pass over his head. Placed " at the extremity of Italy, he is removed out " of the way of contest and hostility. A deli- " cious climate, shores, to which the Romans " retired when masters of the world, in order " to enjoy a luxury unattainable elsewhere, and " which are still covered with the remains of " Roman splendor, or Grecian magnificence; " all the productions of the Levant, which are " to be found here, blended with those of the " Mediterranean; a splendid Capital, palaces, " wood, game, every thing seems assembled " in this enchanting Bay, that can conduce " to human enjoyment. Such is the favored " position, and the enviable lot of Ferdinand " the Fourth." Such, indeed, as here described, it might be considered without exaggeration, in 1779; though during the awful convulsions which have shaken Europe since that period, produced by the French Revolution, his situation has undergone a material change.

The impunity with which the great Nobility perpetrated the most atrocious crimes, and the facility that they found in evading enquiry, or in eluding justice, constituted at that time, one of the worst features of the Neapolitan Administration. Lady Hamilton, who had been several years resident at Naples, where she died not long afterwards, related to me various instances illustrative of this fact. "Some time ago," said she, "a Si-
"cilian lady of high rank, was by order of
"the Court, brought prisoner here, from
"that Island. She had committed so many
"assassinations or murders, that her own re-
"lations having denounced her, called on the
"Government to arrest the further course of
"her crimes. It was believed that she had
"dispatched ten or eleven persons, by the
"dagger, or by poison; particularly by that
"species of poison, denominated '*Aqua to-*
"'*phana*.' I had the curiosity to visit her,
"during her confinement. She received me
"in her bed, sat up, conversed with great
"cheerfulness, offered me Chocolate and other
"refreshments, and seemed to be perfectly
"at her ease. In her person she was delicate,
"feminine, and agreeable, her manners po-

" lite and gentle. Her age did not exceed " three or four and twenty. From her de- " portment, one could not have suspected her " to be capable of such atrocities. Though " her guilt was unquestionable, she was not " put to death. Confinement for life, in a " Convent of a severe Order, together with " certain acts of religious mortification or pe- " nance, which they are compelled to under- " go; these constitute the punishments usually " inflicted here, on culprits of high birth."

The vicinity of the northern provinces of the kingdom of Naples, to the Papal territories, and the ease with which malefactors of both countries, respectively gained an Asylum, by passing the frontiers, opened another door to the commission of the most flagitious acts. Conversing one day, at Portici, on this subject, with Lady Hamilton, she related to me the following story, which I shall endeavour to give in her own words. " About the year 1743, a person of the name " of Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth, who " practised Surgery with great reputation at " Rome, and who resided not far from " the 'Piazza di Spagna,' in that city; " being in bed, was called up to attend some

" strangers who demanded his professional
" assistance. They stopped before his house,
" in a coach; and on his going to the door,
" he found two men masked, by whom he was
" desired to accompany them immediately,
" as the case which brought them, admitted
" of no delay, and not to omit taking with
" him his lancets. He complied, and got
" into the coach; but, no sooner had they
" quitted the street in which he resided,
" than they informed him that he must sub-
" mit to have his eyes bandaged; the person
" to whom they were about to conduct him,
" being a lady of rank, whose name and place
" of abode, it was indispensable to conceal.
" To this requisition he likewise submitted;
" and after driving through a number of
" streets, apparently with a view to prevent
" his forming any accurate idea of the part
" of the city to which he was conducted,
" the carriage at length stopped. The two
" gentlemen, his companions, then alighting,
" and each taking him by the arm, conducted
" him into a house. Ascending a narrow
" staircase, they entered an apartment, where
" he was released from the bandage tied over
" his eyes. One of them next acquainted
" him, that it being necessary to put out of

" life a lady who had dishonored her family,
" they had chosen him to perform the office,
" knowing his professional skill; that he would
" find her in the adjoining chamber, prepared
" to submit to her fate; and that he must open
" her veins with as much expedition as possi-
" ble; a service, for the execution of which,
" he should receive a liberal recompence.

" Ogilvie at first peremptorily refused to
" commit an act, so highly repugnant to his
" feelings. But, the two strangers assured
" him, with solemn denunciations of ven-
" geance, that his refusal could only prove fatal
" to himself, without affording the slightest
" assistance to the object of his compassion;
" that her doom was irrevocable, and that un-
" less he chose to participate a similar fate,
" he must submit to execute the office im-
" posed on him. Thus situated, and finding
" all entreaty or remonstrance vain, he en-
" tered the room, where he found a Lady, of
" a most interesting figure and appearance,
" apparently in the bloom of youth. She
" was habited in a loose undress; and imme-
" diately afterwards a female attendant placed
" before her a large tub filled with warm
" water, in which she immersed her legs.

" Far from opposing any impediment to the " act which she knew he was sent to perform, " the Lady assured him of her perfect re- " signation; entreating him to put the sen- " tence passed on her into execution, with " as little delay as possible. She added, that " she was well aware, no pardon could be " hoped for from those who had devoted " her to death, which alone could expiate " her trespass: felicitating herself that his " humanity would abbreviate her suffer- " ings, and soon terminate their duration.

" After a short conflict with his own mind, " perceiving no means of extrication or of " escape, either for the Lady, or for himself; " being moreover urged to expedite his work, " by the two persons without, who, impatient " at his reluctance, threatened to exercise " violence on him, if he procrastinated; " Ogilvie took out his lancet, opened her " veins, and bled her to death in a short time. " The gentlemen having carefully examined " the body, in order to ascertain that she " was no more; after expressing their satis- " faction, offered him a purse of *Zechins*, as a " remuneration; but he declined all re- " compense, only requesting to be conveyed

" from a scene, on which he could not re-
" flect without horror. With this entreaty
" they complied, and having again applied a
" bandage to his eyes, they led him down
" the same staircase, to the carriage. But,
" it being narrow, in descending the steps,
" he contrived to leave on one, or both of
" the walls, unperceived by his conductors,
" the marks of his fingers, which were stain-
" ed with blood. After observing precau-
" tions similar to those used in bringing him
" thither from his own house, he was con-
" ducted home; and at parting, the two
" Masques charged him, if he valued his life,
" never to divulge, and if possible, never to
" think, on the past transaction. They added,
" that if he should embrace any measures,
" with a view to render it public, or to set on
" foot an inquiry into it, he should be infal-
" libly immolated to their revenge. Having
" finally dismissed him at his own door,
" they drove off, leaving him to his re-
" flexions.

" On the subsequent morning, after great
" irresolution, he determined, at whatever
" risk to his personal safety, not to partici-
" pate, by concealing so enormous a crime.

" It formed, nevertheless, a delicate and diffi-
" cult undertaking to substantiate the charge
" as he remained altogether ignorant of the
" place to which he had been carried, or of
" the name and quality of the Lady whom he
" had deprived of life. Without suffering
" himself however to be deterred by these
" considerations, he waited on the Secretary
" of the Apostolic Chamber, and acquaint-
" ed him with every particular; adding, that
" if the government would extend to him
" protection, he did not despair of finding
" the house, and of bringing to light the
" perpetrators of the deed. Benedict the
" Fourteenth, (Lambertini), who then occu-
" pied the Papal chair, had no sooner received
" the information, than he immediately com-
" menced the most active measures for discov-
" ering the offenders. A guard of the *Sbirri*,
" or Officers of Justice, was appointed by his
" order, to accompany Ogilvie; who judging
" from various circumstances, that he had
" been conveyed out of the city of Rome,
" began by visiting the Villas scattered with-
" out the walls of that Metropolis. His
" search proved ultimately successful. In the
" Villa Papa Julio, constructed by Pope Ju-
" lius the Third, (*del Monté*) he there found

" the bloody marks left on the wall by his
" fingers, at the same time that he recog-
" nized the apartment in which he had put to
" death the Lady. The Palace belonged to
" the Duke de Bracciano, the chief of which
" illustrious family, and his brother, had
" committed the murder, in the person of
" their own sister. They no sooner found
" that it was discovered, than they fled to this
" city, where they easily eluded the pursuit of
" justice. After remaining here for some time,
" they obtained a pardon, by the exertions of
" their powerful friends, on payment of a con-
" siderable fine to the Apostolic Chamber, and
" under the further condition of affixing over
" the chimney piece of the room where the
" crime had been perpetrated, a plate of Cop-
" per, commemorating the transaction, and
" their penitence. This plate together with
" the inscription, still continued to exist
" there till within these few years."

However extraordinary many circumstances of this story may appear, similar events or accounts have been circulated and believed in other countries of Europe. I have often been assured, both at Vienna, and in various places of the German Empire, that an occurrence

not less romantic, and more enigmatical in its nature, took place in 1774, or 1775; for some uncertainty prevailed as to the precise time when the fact was pretended to have happened. It is well known that the "Bourreau," or public executioner of the city of Strasburgh, although that place has formed a part of the French Monarchy ever since the reign of Louis the Fourteenth; yet was frequently employed during a great part of the last Century, to execute the functions of his office on the other side of the Rhine, in Swabia, on the Territories of Baden, and in the Brisgaw, all which countries constitute a portion of Germany. Some persons who arrived at Strasburgh about the period to which I have alluded; having repaired, as it is said, to the house of the executioner, during the night, demanded that he should instantly accompany them out of the town, in order to execute a criminal of condition; for which service he should, of course, receive a liberal remuneration. They particularly enjoined him to bring the sword with which he was accustomed, in the discharge of his ordinary functions, to behead malefactors. Being placed in a carriage with his conductors, he passed the bridge over the river, to Kehl, the

first town on the Eastern bank of the Rhine; where they acquainted him that he had a considerable journey to perform; the object of which must be carefully concealed, as the person intended to be put to death, was an individual of great distinction. They added, that he must not oppose their taking the proper precautions to prevent his knowing the place to which he was conveyed. He acquiesced, and allowed them to hoodwink him. On the second day they arrived at a moated Castle, the draw-bridge of which being lowered, they drove into the court. After waiting a considerable time, he was then conducted into a spacious hall, where stood a Scaffold hung with black cloth, and in the Centre was placed a stool or chair. A female shortly made her appearance, habited in deep mourning, her face wholly concealed by a veil. She was led by two persons, who, when she was seated, having first tied her hands, next fastened her legs with cords. As far as he could form any judgment from her general figure, he considered her to have passed the period of youth. Not a word was uttered; neither did she make any complaints, nor attempt any resistance. When all the preparations for her execution were completed, on a signal given,

he unsheathed the instrument of punishment, according to the practice adopted in the German Empire, where the Axe is rarely, or never, used for decapitation; and her head being forcibly held up by the hair, he severed it, at a single stroke, from her body. Without allowing him to remain more than a few minutes, he was then handsomely rewarded, conducted back to Kehl, by the same persons who had brought him to the place, and set down at the end of the bridge leading to Strasburgh.

I have heard the question frequently agitated, during my residence in Germany, and many different opinions stated, relative to the Lady thus asserted to have been put to death. The most generally adopted belief rested on the Princess of Tour and Taxis, Augusta Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Alexander, Prince of Wirtemberg. She had been married, at a very early period of life, to Charles Anselm, Prince of Tour and Taxis. Whether it proceeded from mutual incompatibility of character, or, as was commonly pretended, from the Princess's intractable and ferocious disposition, the marriage proved eminently unfortunate in its results. She was accused

of having repeatedly attempted to take away her husband's life, particularly while they were walking together near the Castle of Donau-Stauff, on the high bank overhanging the Danube, when she endeavoured to precipitate him into the river. It is certain, that about the year 1773, or 1774, a final separation took place between them, at the Prince's solicitation. The reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, her brother, to whose custody she was consigned, caused her to be closely immured in a Castle within his own dominions, where she was strictly guarded, no access being allowed to her. Of the last mentioned fact, there is little doubt; but it may be considered as much more problematical, whether she was the person put to death by the executioner of Strasburgh. I have dined in the Autumn of the year 1778, with the Prince of Tour and Taxis, at his Castle or seat of Donau-Stauff, near the northern bank of the Danube, a few miles from the city of Ratisbon. He was then about forty-five years of age, and his wife was understood to be in confinement. I believe that her decease was not formally announced as having taken place, till many years subsequent to 1778; but this circumstance by no means militates against the pos-

sibility of her having suffered by a more summary process, if her conduct had exposed her to merit it; and if it was thought proper to inflict upon her capital punishment. The private annals of the great Houses and Sovereigns of the German Empire, if they were divulged, would furnish numerous instances of similar severity exercised in their own families, during the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. Some of these stories might realize the tragical adventures commemorated by Boccace, or related by Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis the First, in her "Tales;" which last are not fictions, but faithful delineations of the Adventures that took place in the Court of Pau, where she resided, near the foot of the Pyrenees. Count Konigsmarck fell a victim, at Hanover, to the resentment of Ernest Augustus, father of King George the First: and we know how narrowly the great Frederic, afterwards King of Prussia, escaped falling by the same weapon which beheaded his companion Katt, arbitrarily sacrificed by Frederic William the First, for only endeavouring to facilitate the Prince's evasion from his father's Court.

While I am engaged on the subject of ex-

traordinary events, I shall record one more fact, which may appear equally curious with either of the stories that I have just recounted. During the first Winter that I passed at Vienna, in 1778, I became acquainted with the Count and Countess Podotski. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of high rank, whom I have seen on the Continent. Her husband, a great Polish Nobleman, hereditary Cup-bearer, or "Grand Echanson" of the Crown, had become in some measure an Austrian subject, in consequence of the first partition of Poland, which took place in 1772. His patrimonial estates lying principally in that Southern Portion of the kingdom which fell to the share of Maria Theresa, he of course repaired frequently to Vienna; between which capital and Warsaw he divided his time. During the Winter of 1776, as the Count and Countess Podotski were on their way from Vienna to Cracow, the wolves which abound in the Carpathian Mountains, rendered more than ordinarily bold and ferocious, in consequence of the severity of the season; descending in great numbers, began to follow the carriage between the two little towns of Oswiezk and Zator; the latter of which places is only a few Leagues distant from Cracow. Of two ser-

vants who attended him, one had been sent forward to Zator, for the purpose of procuring post horses. The other, a *Heyduc*, to whom he was much attached on account of his fidelity, finding the wolves rapidly gaining ground on them, rode up, and exhorted the Count to permit him to abandon to these animals his horse; as such a prey would naturally arrest their impetuosity, and allow time for the Count and Countess to reach Zator. Podotski immediately agreed to the proposal; and the *Heyduc* mounting behind the carriage, left his horse, who was soon overtaken, and torn in a thousand pieces.

They continued their journey meanwhile with all possible speed, in the hope of getting to the town, from which they were at an inconsiderable distance. But, their horses were bad; and the wolves, become more ravenous, as well as eager, by having tasted blood, already were nearly up with them. In this extremity, the Heyduc said to his master, "There is only "one way left to save us. We shall all be "devoured in a few minutes. I am ready to "sacrifice myself, by going to meet the "wolves, if you will swear to be a father to "my wife and children. I shall be destroyed; "but, while they are occupied in falling upon

" me, you may escape." Podotski, after a moment's reluctance to accept such an offer, pressed nevertheless by the prospect of imminent destruction to them all, and seeing no prospect of any other means of extrication, consented; and assured him that if he were capable of devoting himself for their common preservation, his family should find in him a constant protector. The *Heyduc* instantly descending, advanced to meet the wolves, who surrounded and soon dispatched him. But, his magnanimous sacrifice of himself, by checking the ardour of their pursuit, allowed Count Podotski time to reach the gates of Zator in safety. I ought not to omit that the *Heyduc* was a Dissident or Protestant, while his master professed the Catholic religion; a circumstance which greatly added to the merit and effect of the sacrifice. I believe Count Podotski most religiously fulfilled his engagement, to befriend the family of his faithful servant. For the honour of human nature, we ought not to suppose it possible that he could fail on such a point. I cannot say that I have heard him relate this story, himself; but I have received it from those persons who knew its authenticity, and who recounted it to me at Vienna, while the Count was engaged in the same room at Play, in the hotel

of the French Embassador, the Baron de Breteuil, only about two years after it took place. An instance of more prompt, cool, and generous self-devotion, is, perhaps, not to be found in the History of mankind; nor ought its value to be at all diminished by the consideration, that even if the *Heyduc* had not acted as he did, they must all probably have perished together.

If Naples, in 1779, offered a number of enchanting objects to the imagination and the senses; Florence, where I likewise passed a considerable time in the same year, presented others not less captivating to the mind. The "Palazzo Vecchio," once inhabited by Cosmo, and by Lorenzo de Medicis: names which will be for ever venerated; — the Chapel of St. Lorenzo, where reposed the remains of so many Princes of that illustrious family, whose Monuments were adorned by the hand of Michael Angelo; — the Gallery constructed for the reception of all those Master-pieces of ancient, and of modern genius, which taste and expence had collected in the lapse of Ages; — even the surrounding Scenery, the Arno, Fiesolé, Vallombrosa, and every object, awakened classic, or poetic recollections. Sir Horace Mann, who was then the British

Minister at the Court of Tuscany, had outlived the extinction of the House of Medicis; for which line of Princes, however, he seemed to preserve the same predilection, which Brantome always manifests for that of Valois. He remembered, and personally knew, the last Grand Duke of the Medicean line, John Gaston, who died in 1737; and in consequence of whose decease without issue, those beautiful countries, constituting his dominions, were finally transferred to a Prince of Lorrain.

Conversing one day with Sir Horace Mann, on this topic, which always excited his regret; "John Gaston," observed he to me, "was one of the most superior and accomplished men, whom the present Century has witnessed, if his immoderate pursuit of pleasures had not enervated his mind, and debilitated his frame. He became, long before his death, incapable of continuing his family: but that inability did not produce its extinction. A sort of fatality seemed to overhang the House of Medicis, and to render ineffectual all the measures adopted for its prolongation. When the fact was perfectly ascertained,

" that John Gaston could not perpetuate his
" line, the Cardinal Hippolito de Medicis,
" his Uncle, was selected for that purpose;
" and a dispensation from his ecclesiastical
" vows, was obtained from the Papal See.
" The only, and the indispensable object of
" the marriage, being the attainment of heirs
" male to the Grand Duchy, in order to pre-
" vent its seizure by foreign violence, or its
" incorporation with the Austrian, French,
" or Spanish Monarchies; all Italy was
" searched, to find a young and handsome
" Princess, from whom might be expected a
" numerous family. A Princess of Miran-
" dola, on whom the selection fell, seemed to
" unite every requisite qualification. The nup-
" tials were solemnized; and the bridegroom
" being of a feeble constitution, as well as
" advanced in life, it was plainly insinuated to
" the Lady, that for reasons of state necessity,
" connected with the very political existence
" of Tuscany under the reigning House, she
" must produce an heir. The most agreea-
" ble youths and Pages about the court were
" purposely thrown in her way, and every fa-
" cility was furnished, that might conduce to
" the accomplishment of the object. But, so
" sacredly did she observe the marriage vow,

" that no seductions could make an impres-
" sion on her, and she remained without issue.
" Her husband died, and was followed by John
" Gaston. France having acquired Lorrain, and
" Don Carlos being made Sovereign of Naples,
" Tuscany was delivered over, as a conquered
" country, to Francis, Duke of Lorrain. But,
" no sooner had these events taken place,
" than Hippolito's widow, who had surmount-
" ed every temptation to inconstancy during
" his life, gave the reins to her inclinations,
" and brought into the world two or three
" children, within a few years. It was thus
" that Florence, the repository of so many
" invaluable monuments of Greek and Roman
" Sculpture, collected during successive Cen-
" turies, by the Princes of Medicis, passed
" into the Austrian Family." Sir Horace little foresaw at that time, the new Revolutions impending over Tuscany, about to issue from the Volcano of the French Revolution.

That beautiful country, the cradle of the fine arts in 1779, under the mild and parental government of the Grand Duke Leopold, enjoyed a great degree of felicity, as well as prosperity: perhaps as much, or more, than at any period of it's History; either when a Commonwealth, or under the House

of Medicis. While his father, Francis, retained the Sovereignty of Tuscany, it was considered only as a detached Province of the Austrian Monarchy, rarely visited, and the internal Administration of which, Francis committed to Germans, or to subjects of Lorrain. But, with the accession of Leopold, Florence assumed a new aspect; and though he occasionally repaired to Vienna, in order to pay his duty to the Empress Maria Theresa his mother, yet he was not partial to the climate or manners of Austria. He loved the banks of the Arno; dividing his time between the occupations of civil government, the education of his numerous family, which he superintended in person with great care; and the researches of natural Philosophy, particularly Chymistry; for which last mentioned pursuit, like the Emperor Francis his father, he nourished a strong predilection. In imitation of other royal Philosophers, ancient and modern, he sought in the gratifications of female society, the best relief from the toils and cares of State. The Countess Cowper was at this time distinguished by his attachment; and the exertion of his interest with Joseph the Second his brother, procured her husband, Lord Cowper, to be created soon afterwards a Prince of the German Empire: an honor,

which I believe, had not been conferred on any English subject, since the beginning of the last Century, when John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough, was raised to the dignity of Prince of Mildenheim, by the Emperor Joseph the First, after the memorable victory of Blenheim.

While I am engaged on the subject of the two brothers, Joseph and Leopold, who were successively Emperors of Germany, I shall say a few words relative to both these Princes. The reign of Joseph, comprising more than nine years, from November 1780, to February 1790, may be considered as one of the most unfortunate and injurious to the House of Austria, which occurs in the Annals of that family. He possessed, nevertheless, many eminent virtues; activity, frugality, enlargement of mind, facility of access, indefatigable application, great renunciation of pleasure, the desire of acquiring knowledge, and of ameliorating the condition of his people. But he was theoretical, precipitate, ambitious, and led astray by his anxiety to appear, like his contemporary, Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, his own General and Minister. That great Prince last named, became himself, on more than one occasion, during the

"Seven years war," the victim of his temerity or pertinacity in rejecting the advice of his commanders. Joseph attempted, with far inferior talents, to conduct the military operations; but disaster perpetually attended him in the field. Laudohn was reduced to the necessity of forcing him to quit the camp in Lower Hungary during the war carried on against the Turks; and his arms never penetrated beyond the Danube, into Servia, till he left the army, and retired to Vienna. His alliance with Catherine the Second, and his visits to the Crimea, of which the Prince de Ligne has given us such amusing details, produced no permanent advantages to his Crown, or benefit to his people. We know that he had actually made with the Russian Empress, a partition of all the European portion of the Turkish Dominions, and of some of the Asiatic Provinces lying along the shore of the Black sea: but the two Sovereigns found it easier to divide Poland, than to dismember Turkey. Joseph's imprudent, arbitrary, and impolitic infractions of the privileges, or constitutional rights of his subjects, when aggravated by his suppression of many of the Monastic establishments; produced either an insurrection or a dangerous fermentation among the Hungarians, and throughout the Austrian Nether-

lands. While he fondly anticipated the conquest of the Ottoman Provinces beyond Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had subjected seventy years earlier; the Hungarians opened a secret Negociation, of the most dangerous nature, with the Court of Berlin; and the Flemings overturned the Imperial Government at Brussels. Even the Archduchy of Austria and the Kingdom of Bohemia manifested symptoms of disaffection: while the French Revolution, which had commenced in the Summer of 1789, advancing with gigantic steps towards Democracy, Anarchy, and Violence, painfully attracted his attention on that vulnerable quarter. Such was the critical and convulsed state of the Austrian Monarchy, when Joseph expired at Vienna, in the Spring of 1790, at the age of forty-nine; extenuated by diseases, caused or accelerated in their progress, by his own irritability of temper, agitation of mind, and the embarrassment of his affairs.

Leopold, who succeeded him, and who was unquestionably a Prince of deep reflexion, enlarged capacity, and sound judgment; perceived the misfortunes which had flowed from the spirit of innovation, reform, and restless activity or ambition, that had cha-

racterized his brother. But it was not easy to withdraw from the political connexions formed by Joseph, with the Empress Catherine the Second. Yet, alarmed at the state of Flanders and of Hungary, while he dreaded the issue of the revolutionary struggle in which his brother-in-law, Louis the Sixteenth, was involved with his subjects; Leopold, after many doubts, and much hesitation, finally determined to quit the alliance of Russia. A circumstance which took place not long after his accession, confirmed him in the resolution. Potemkin, who then governed his imperial mistress and the Court of Petersburgh; commanding the Armies of that Power in the vicinity of Oczakow, on the Coast of the Black Sea, pushed his conquests against the Turks, so far to the Westward, as to approach the Austrian Frontier, on the Lower Danube, in Servia. Uneasy at the advances of such a neighbour, the Emperor addressed a letter to him, couched in very obliging language, but intimating His Imperial Majesty's wishes that he would desist from prosecuting his advantages any further on that side. Potemkin, intoxicated with favour, brutal in his manners, insolent, and restrained by no considerations of policy, or of respect for the dignity of the writer, had the audacity to throw

the letter on the ground, to spit upon it, and to trample it under foot; adding the most injurious or insulting Epithets relative personally to Leopold. These barbarous and impolitic ebullitions of his rage, were reported soon afterwards to the Emperor, by Foscari, the Venetian Embassador at the Court of Petersburgh; who having returned to Venice, and there meeting His Imperial Majesty, acquainted him with the facts. Leopold heard the Narration with great apparent calmness, but such an insult did not make the less deep impression on his mind. We may however assume, that before Potemkin would have ventured on so outrageous an act of contempt toward his Sovereign's ally, he had good reason to believe that the ties between the two Courts or Sovereigns, were about to be dissolved, and new Alliances to be formed by Austria.

In fact, Leopold, from an early period of his Reign, turned all his views towards the two Courts of Berlin and London. After concluding a Treaty at Reichenbach, with the King of Prussia, he made Peace with the Turks at Sistova; renouncing all his brother Joseph's Conquests in Bosnia and Servia, restoring Belgrade to the Porte, and

abandoning his connexions with Catherine. Impelled by an anxious desire of arresting the course of the French Revolutionary Principles, which he foresaw, would, if not checked, eventually involve Europe in the greatest calamities, he set on foot the celebrated *Interview of Pilnitz*. In the Summer of 1791, having repaired with his eldest son, the present Emperor Francis, to that Castle or hunting seat of the Elector of Saxony, situate near Dresden; Frederick William, accompanied in like manner by his successor the reigning King of Prussia, there met Leopold. The conferences led to a Treaty, which adopted as its fundamental Basis, the Resolution "not to make war on France, "but to arm against the introduction of "*French Revolutionary Principles* into Ger- "many and the Low Countries." The Emperor, who had formed an opinion by which he systematically adhered, that the Republican Faction in Paris would only be aided by aggression and hostility; thought that War must therefore be avoided: but he conceived that the great Powers of Europe should arm against *French Principles*, by forming a military Cordon round France; thus shutting in the moral or political infection, and leaving them to exhaust their rage on each other. Such was the un-

questionable object and scope of that memorable Treaty, relative to which so much has been said and written within the last twenty years. How far the plan might have proved efficacious, if it had been generally acted upon by all the Germanic Body, as early as 1791; and if Leopold, who framed it, had lived to conduct its operations; it is difficult to venture a decided opinion: but for the authenticity of the Fact itself, I think I may challenge contradiction. Perhaps, moral and political principles are not to be shut in or compressed by any defensive precautions which can be adopted by human wisdom. I am fully convinced at least, that when Mr. Pitt, early in 1793, declared open hostility on France, he could not have saved England by temporizing measures. Nay, I thought at the time, and I continue so to think now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, that Mr. Fox would have formed the same Estimate, and have acted precisely in the same manner, if he had been seated in Pitt's place, as First Minister, on the Treasury Bench. The whole difference in their mode of seeing and appreciating the tendency of the French Revolution, lay in the possession, or the negation, of political power. Indeed, the fact was practically

proved, when Fox, after Pitt's decease in 1806, arrived at employment. It soon became evident how much his attainment of a seat in the Cabinet had illuminated his understanding, as well as invigorate his measures, in opposition to revolutionary principles and their consequences.

I return to Leopold. So anxious was he to form a defensive League against the French Republican contagion, that on the very day succeeding his Coronation at Frankfort, as Emperor of Germany, in the Autumn of 1790, he dispatched a confidential Agent to the Court of Berlin, empowered to open a private Negociation with Frederick William. It was confined to the two Sovereigns; their respective Ministers, Kaunitz and Hertzberg, being excluded from any knowledge of the transaction. The King of Prussia, who came readily into Leopold's views, employed Bischoffswerder, his favourite, to carry back his assent. But, no final or effectual Measures, as they well knew, could be settled, without the participation of England. Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville entered ardently into the Plan, which had in view two objects; to arrest the arms of Catherine on the Shore of the Euxine, and to coerce the Republicans of Paris, without

making offensive War on France. The former of these points would unquestionably have been attained if Mr. Fox had not excited so formidable an opposition in the House of Commons, as compelled the Ministry reluctantly to recede from their engagements. He at the same time sent Mr. Adair as as his own private Agent, to Petersburgh; an act, for which, many persons thought that he deserved Impeachment. Leopold, apprehensive of Catherine's resentment, doubtful of Mr. Pitt's and Lord Grenville's sincerity, nor without alarm at the murmurs which he foresaw would arise among his own troops, on the evacuation of Belgrade, and the Restitution of his conquests in Servia; said to a Gentleman, deep in his confidence, with whom he was accustomed to unbosom his thoughts, and who had formed the medium of his intercourse with Frederic William, "*J'ai signé la Paix avec les Turcs: mais, la Grande Bretagne, est elle sincere? Me tiendra t'elle ses engagemens? Catherine sera inexorable. Je l'ai vu en songe, hier, la nuit, le poignard à la main.*" He even disapproved and lamented Pitt's line of conduct towards the Empress, in the business of Oczakow, as severe, irritating, and calculated to render her implacable. "Why," observed Leopold,

speaking to the same friend, "rob the Em-
"press of her laurels, and humiliate her in the
"eyes of Europe? It is necessary that her head
"should be incircled with glory, in order
"to hide her feet, which are all stained with
"blood." In fact, Catherine, who never forgave either Austria, Prussia, or England, for their conduct towards her, propelled those Powers to commence war on France in 1792; but never aided them in the contest. On the contrary, she compelled Frederic William to withdraw from the great Alliance, and to return home, by attacking Poland. "If," said the King, "I had not marched my army
"back into my own dominions, she would
"not only have taken Warsaw, but have
"entered Berlin likewise." It was Russia, therefore, which acted as one great cause of the overthrow of the first Confederacy against Republican France.

During the Autumn of the year 1791, Leopold being on his way from Vienna to Florence, stopped, for refreshment, at a small post house in the Duchy of Styria; where, while he remained, a croud of people, all of whom were his own subjects, pressed round to look at him. Among them he remarked an old woman, who, when he got into his car-

riage, approached it; and knocking against the glass with her hand, addressed some words to him in a tone of great violence and asperity, accompanied with gestures indicative of resentment: but, as she spoke in the Styrian Dialect, he was, wholly unable to comprehend her meaning. Apprehending that she might have some complaint to prefer, or might have received some injury demanding redress, he ordered his attendants to question her on the subject of her application. They manifested considerable reluctance in explaining to him its nature; but, on his insisting to be informed, one of them answered that she said, "Render "justice promptly. We know all that the "Poissardes have done at Paris." The Emperor made no reply; but when he recounted the story to the Gentleman who related it to me, he added, "You may suppose that I "have read and reflected much upon the "French Revolution, and its consequences: "but, all that has been said, or can be writ-"ten upon it, never carried such conviction "to my mind, as the few words uttered by the "old woman in Styria."

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Emigrants, for inducing Leopold to commence

war with France, he remained inflexibly steady to his System of arming against the Revolution, but of never attacking the French Nation. It was not till after his decease, under Francis, his successor, in the Summer of 1792, that the Austrians entered Champagne, in conjunction with the Prussian forces. Leopold's death took place on the first day of March, that year, at Prague; to which city he had repaired for the purpose of being crowned King of Bohemia. I think I may venture to assert with confidence, that he was poisoned; and that the poison was administered in sweetmeats, which a Lady presented him at a Masquerade. Every endeavour was used to conceal the fact; and with that view, it was pretended that his end had been produced by some drugs or incentives, which he himself prepared in his own Laboratory: for he passed much time in chymical researches and processes. But, Agusius, his physician, who opened his body, did not entertain any doubt that he fell a victim to poison. During the Spring of the year 1798, chancing to be alone with a foreign Nobleman, whose name I do not think proper to mention, but whose veracity was unquestionable; and who, as having been the Embassador of a Crowned Head at the Court of Vienna, when Leopold's

death happened, possessed the best means of obtaining information; I ventured to interrogate him on the subject. "I was accustomed," answered he, "during the last "year of the Emperor's life, to see him frequently, and to have long audiences of him, "on business, in his Closet. During these "interviews, I beheld him divested of any "disguise; and I can pronounce, as a "matter of certainty, that his mind was "then altogether broken, and his faculties "enfeebled. His memory in particular had become so weakened, that he could no longer "retain, from one day to another, the facts "or images committed to it. He rarely recollected the conversation of the preceding "morning. This premature decay of his "intellectual powers, resulted from his inordinate passion for the other sex, which "had characterised him at every period of "his life, and which he continued to indulge "when it proved destructive to his frame. "The Brain was particularly affected. In "my Audiences of Leopold, he always "walked up and down the apartment, during "the whole time. On his table lay a number "of rolls of wax, which he bit from one "minute to another, spitting out the pieces "on the floor. When he quitted the room,

" whether any other persons were present, or " whether we were alone, he never advanced " forward in a strait line; but he went round " the sides of the chamber, touching with " his hand the wainscot, or the window " shutters. No circumstances could more " strongly indicate a disordered or enfeebled " understanding. As to the nature of his " death, I am unable positively to pro- " nounce upon the Fact. Certainly, his " body, when opened, exhibited every mark " of poison. But, if he was poisoned, by " whom was it administered, or with what " object? I cannot pretend to guess, nor even " to form a Conjecture." Two opinions, as I have been assured, prevailed at Prague, respecting it; both of which were alike founded on Leopold's well known determination not to engage in a war with France. One party maintained that the Girondists, which Faction then predominated at Paris, dreading the effects of his defensive System, as most injurious to their tenure of power, removed him in the manner related: while another party accused the Emigrants of having produced his death, as the only means left them of regaining their estates, by forcing an immediate rupture between the Austrian and French Governments. I must leave the fact

problematical. Time will probably elucidate its nature.

Among the objects of mingled curiosity and compassion, which Florence presented in 1779, to the view of an Englishman, was the Chevalier de St. George; or, as we commonly denominate him, the *Pretender*. It was impossible to contemplate him, without making many reflections on his own destiny, and on the condition of the infatuated Family of which he was the representative. Neither antient, nor modern History, presents the example of a line of Princes so eminently unfortunate, during a succession of Ages! The calamities which overwhelmed the House of Bourbon, awful as they must be esteemed, have been comprized within the space of five and twenty years: but, from James the First of *Scotland*, murdered in the most inhuman manner at Perth, in 1437, down to the last of his Descendants; with only the two exceptions of James the First of *England*, and Charles the Second; all the others perished by the hand of the executioner, or by violent and premature death, or in exile, maintained by foreign contribution. It was not however merely considered as the grandson of James the Second, and the

Inheritor of the pretensions of the Stuarts, that the Chevalier de St. George excited an interest in the mind of every reflecting spectator. By his mother he descended from the celebrated John Sobieski, King of Poland, who was his maternal great Grandfather; the first Chevalier de St. George having carried off from Inspruck, about the year 1719, and married, Clementina Sobieska, daughter and heiress of Prince James Sobieski, whom Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, meditated, some years earlier, to have placed on the Polish Throne. In right of that Princess, her son succeeded to very considerable patrimonial estates, situated in Poland; the produce of which formed a much more solid source of support, than the precarious allowance or donations, made and withdrawn as circumstances impelled, by the French and Spanish Crowns, or by the Apostolic See. Clement the Fourteenth (Ganganelli), when he refused to continue to the Chevalier, the public *Honors* previously enjoyed by his father and himself at Rome, where they had a canopy decorated with the Royal Arms of Great Britain, erected over their box in the theatre; retrenched likewise the pecuniary *Appointments*, antecedently paid him out of the Treasury of St. Peter. Nor

do I believe that they were restored by Pius the Sixth, after his election to the Papal Chair in 1775: but, the Pretender's income at the time of which I speak, might be estimated at more than five thousand Pounds sterling; a sum fully adequate, at Florence, to maintain an establishment becoming his situation.

His faculties, even in their Zenith, appear to have been very moderate: but his valour, though not heroic, was never, I believe, called in question by the Scots, during his Campaign in 1745 and 1746; as that of Charles the Second had been doubted in 1652, at the battle of Worcester; and as James the Second's courage was questioned, on various occasions, both as Lord High Admiral on the water, and on the land. Charles the First is indeed the only Prince of the Stuart Race, after their accession to the English Throne, whose bravery, conspicuously displayed at Edge Hill, at Newbury, at Naseby, and in many other battles or encounters, equally sustained him in the last act of his life, on the Scaffold. In 1779, Charles Edward exhibited to the world a very humiliating spectacle. At the Theatre, where he appeared almost every evening, he was led in by his Domestics,

who laid him down on a species of Sofa, in the back part of his Box; while the Countess d'Albany, his consort, occupied the front seat during the whole performance. Count Alfieri, her "*Cavaliero servante*," always attended on her in public, according to the established usages of society throughout Italy. As, for obvious reasons, no English subject could be presented to a man who still laid claim to the British Crown; there was not any opportunity of seeing the Chevalier de St. George which offered itself, except across the Theatre: and even there he lay concealed, as I have already observed, on account of his infirmities; rarely coming forward to view.

Being desirous, nevertheless, to obtain a more accurate idea of his face and person, than could be acquired at such a distance; I took my station, one evening, at the head of a private staircase, near the door by which, when the performance closed, he quitted the Playhouse. Previous to my leaving England in 1777, His Majesty had been pleased, at the application of Lord Robert Manners, who then commanded the third regiment of Dragoon Guards, to give me a Lieutenant's Commission; and Lord Robert

had allowed me to wear his Uniform, which I had on at the time. The present General Manners, now first Equerry to the King, then a Cornet in his father's regiment, dressed in the same Uniform, and actuated by a similar curiosity, accompanied me. As soon as the Chevalier approached near enough to distinguish the English Regimental, he instantly stopped, gently shook off the two servants who supported him, one on each side; and taking off his hat, politely saluted us. He then passed on to his Carriage, sustained by the two attendants, as he descended the staircase. I could not help, as I looked at him, recollecting the series of dangers and escapes which he underwent or effected, for successive months, among the Hebrides, after his defeat at Culloden; a chain of adventures which has no parallel, except in those equally extraordinay hardships which distinguished the flight of Charles the Second from Worcester. Mrs. Lane gave to that King, the same noble proofs of disinterested devotion, which Flora Macdonald displayed towards the Pretender: and both Princes were eminently indebted for their final preservation, to female loyalty. Charles Edward's complexion was dark, and he manifestly bore the same family

resemblance to his grand-father James the Second, that His Britannic Majesty's countenance presents to George the First, or to the late King. On the occasion just related, he wore, besides the Decorations of the Order of the *Garter*, a velvet great coat, which his infirm health rendered necessary even in Summer, on coming out of the Theatre; and a cocked hat, the sides of which were half drawn up with gold twist. His whole figure, paralytic and debilitated, presented the appearance of great bodily decay.

The strength of his mind had likewise become extinct at this time; and with the decline of his intellectual powers, the suavity of his temper forsaking him, he became irritable, morose, and intractable, particularly in his family. An unhappy propensity to wine, which he gratified to excess, while it enervated his system, rendered him frequently an object of pity or of contempt, when in public; divesting him of that dignity which would otherwise have always accompanied the representative of so many Kings. His misfortunes, exile, and anomalous situation, aggravated by mortifications of various kinds which he had undergone, both in France, and at Rome; probably induced

him to have recourse to the grape, for procuring oblivion, or temporary felicity. That melancholy indulgence extinguished the last hope which fortune ever tendered him, of ascending the Throne of England, justly forfeited by the tyranny and imbecile bigotry of James the Second.

I know from high authority, that as late as the year 1770, the Duke de Choiseul, then First Minister of France, not deterred by the ill success of the attempts made in 1715, and in 1745, meditated to undertake a third effort for restoring the House of Stuart. His enterprizing spirit led him to profit of the dispute which arose between the English and Spanish Crowns, respecting the possession of Falkland Islands, in order to accomplish the object. As the first step towards it, he dispatched a private emissary to Rome, who signified to Charles Edward, the Duke's desire of seeing him immediately at Paris. He complied, and arrived in that city with the utmost privacy. Having announced it to Choiseul, the Minister fixed the same night at twelve o'clock, when he and the Marshal de Broglio would be ready to receive the Pretender, and to lay before him their plan for an invasion of England.

The Hotel de Choiseul was named for the interview, to which place he was enjoined to repair in a hackney Coach, disguised, and without any attendant. At the appointed time, the Duke and the Marshal, furnished with the requisite papers and instructions drawn up for his conduct on the expedition, were ready: but, after waiting a full hour, expecting his appearance every instant, when the Clock struck one, they concluded that some unforeseen accident must have intervened to prevent his arrival. Under this impression they were preparing to separate, when the noise of wheels was heard in the court yard, and a few moments afterwards, the Pretender entered the room, in a state of such intoxication, as to be utterly incapable even of ordinary conversation. Disgusted as well as indignant at this disgraceful conduct, and well convinced that no expedition undertaken for the restoration of a man so lost to every sense of decency or self interest, could be crowned with success; Choiseul, without hesitation, sent him, next morning, a peremptory order to quit the French Dominions. The Pretender returned to Italy; and the Nobleman who related to me these particulars, being in company with the late Duke of Glo-

cester, in 1770, while walking together in the streets of Genoa, met the Chevalier de St. George, then on his way back from France to Rome. The Duke de Choiseul was soon afterwards dismissed by Louis the Fifteenth; new principles of policy were adopted in the Cabinet of Versailles; the business of the Falkland Islands being accommodated, peace continued to subsist between the Courts of France and England: while Charles Edward, driven by the mortifications which he experienced at Rome, to abandon that city, sought refuge at Florence; where he finished in January, 1784, his inglorious career, as James the Second had done at the palace of St. Germain, in 1701.

Louisa, Countess d'Albany, his Consort, merited a more agreeable partner, and might have graced a Throne. When I saw her at Florence, though she had been long married, she was not quite twenty-seven years of age. Her person was formed on a small scale, with a fair complexion, delicate features, and lively, as well as attractive manners. Born Princess of Stolberg, she excited great admiration on her first arrival from Germany: but in 1779, no hope of issue by the Chevalier could be any longer entertained; and

their mutual infelicity had attained to such a height, that she made various ineffectual attempts to obtain a separation. The French Court may indeed be censured for not having earlier negociated and concluded the Pretender's marriage, if it was desired to perpetuate the Stuart Line of Claimants. When Charles Edward espoused Louisa, Princess of Stolberg, he was past his fiftieth year, broken in constitution, and debilitated by excesses of many kinds. After his decease, she quitted Italy, and finally established herself at Paris. In the year 1787, I have passed the evening at her residence, the Hotel de Bourgogne, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, where she supported an elegant establishment. Her person then still retained many pretensions to beauty; and her deportment, unassuming, but dignified, set off her attractions. In one of the apartments stood a Canopy, with a chair of state, on which were displayed the royal Arms of Great Britain; and every piece of plate, down to the tea spoons, were ornamented in a similar manner. Some of the more massy pieces, which were said to have belonged to Mary of Modena, James the Second's Queen, seemed to revive the extinct recollections of the Revolution of 1688. A numerous company, both English

and French, male and female, was assembled under her roof, by all of whom she was addressed only as Countess d'Albany: but her own domestics, when serving her, invariably gave her the title of Majesty. The Honours of a Queen, were in like manner paid her by the Nuns of all those Convents in Paris, which she was accustomed to visit on certain Holydays or festivals. She continued to reside in the Capital of France, till the calamitous progress of the French Revolution compelling her to abandon that country, she repaired to London; where she found not only personal protection, but new resources in the liberality and bounty of George the Third.

While I am engaged on the subject of the Stuart family, I shall commemorate a fact, which will probably, on perusal, impress every reader with as much astonishment as it did myself at first hearing it. Dining at the present Earl of Hardwicke's, in London, with a large company, in June, 1796; among the persons present, was the late Sir John Dalrymple, known by his "History of England," and "State Papers." The conversation turning on historical subjects, he assured us that the Princess Sophia, mother of King George the First, who only failed in ascending the

throne of Great Britain in her own person, by dying about seven weeks before Queen Anne; was, nevertheless, a determined Jacobite in her political principles. On our expressing the amazement which such an assertion was calculated to produce, he declared, that while he was occupied in looking over the Chest in Kensington Palace, from which, in the beginning of the present reign, he took the State Papers that he had given to the world; he found a bundle of Letters, marked on the back, in King William's own hand-writing, "Letters of the Electress "Sophia to the Court of St. Germain's." Having perused them, he ascertained that Sophia was really in close Correspondence with James the Second, and attached to his interests, in opposition to those of William. Lord Rochford, who had procured for Sir John Dalrymple, permission from His Majesty, to examine and publish the Papers in question; being then Secretary of State, he immediately communicated to that Nobleman his discovery: requesting at the same time, his Lordship's opinion on the propriety of giving to the world, the Letters of the Electress Sophia. "Publish them by all means, Jack," answered he. Thus empowered, from such authority, Dalrymple destined them for the

press: but, before he had time to get the Letters copied, Lord Rochford sent to him, desiring to have them delivered back to himself, in order that he might submit them to His Majesty's inspection; he having, on more mature reflection, judged it proper to take the King's pleasure on a matter of such delicacy and singularity. Dalrymple returned them therefore to Lord Rochford, who carried them to the Queen's House, and presented the Bundle to His Majesty. But, they were neither restored, nor was even any allusion to them ever made in conversation by the King; he no doubt conceiving it more judicious to commit such documents to the flames, than to permit their publication. However extraordinary this Anecdote may appear, it ought not to surprize, on full consideration, that Sophia should feel the warmest attachment to James the Second. He was very nearly related to her by Consanguinity, her mother, Elizabeth, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia and Charles the First, his father, being brother and sister. Nor could Sophia, during many years subsequent to the Revolution of 1688, nourish the slightest expectation of being called to the British throne, while the Princess Anne and her issue interposed between the House of Brunswic and that suc-

cession. It was not till after the death of William, the young Duke of Glocester, in 1700, when the Princess Sophia and her Descendants being named by Act of Parliament, to succeed eventually to the Crown of Great Britain, as the nearest Protestant heirs of the Royal line; her interests from that time, became opposed to the right of blood existing in the Stuart race.

Brussels, where I made a short stay in the Summer of the same year, 1779, exhibited another Prince in a state of corporal and mental infirmity, not less calculated to excite pity than the Pretender. The Austrian Netherlands were then administered, as they had been almost ever since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, by Prince Charles of Lorrain. His double alliance, both by consanguinity and by marriage, with the Emperor Francis and Maria Theresa; being brother to the former, and having married the sister of the latter Sovereign; — these qualities and pretensions, rather than any mental endowments, civil or military, had raised him to the government of the Low Countries, the most enviable delegation of sovereign power in Europe. Neither Hungary, nor the Milanese, nor Sicily, nor Sardinia, nor Ireland, nor Norway, could

enter into any political competition with the rich provinces of Flanders, Haynault, and Brabant. Brussels constituted one of the most pleasing, as well as elegant Courts of the Continent; its local position, almost central between Germany, Holland, France, and England, rendering it far more important in a diplomatic point of view, than either Turin, Warsaw, or Naples; perhaps even than Copenhagen, or Stockholm. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having been bred to the profession of arms from his early youth, and possessing an athletic frame of body, with unquestionable personal courage, had more than once nominally commanded the Austrian armies. His passage of the Rhine in 1744, and his irruption into Alsace, acquired him a degree of Reputation, which he by no means afterwards preserved, during the memorable "Seven years War." To Frederic, King of Prussia he was indeed a most unequal antagonist, as that great Prince sufficiently proved at the battle of Lissa, in December, 1757, where he defeated the Austrians, and on many other occasions. When I was presented to Prince Charles, in August 1779, he might be regarded as performing the last of the Seven Ages of Man, and as sinking fast into "mere oblivion." At his Levee he seemed apparently unconscious of

any thing beyond the mere ceremony of the hour, even his speech and articulation being rendered very indistinct by a paralytic affection. He expired in the following Summer, at his palace in the vicinity of Brussels, regretted by the Flemings for his moderation; and was succeeded in the Government general of the Netherlands, by the Archduchess Christina, the favorite daughter of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa.

Never did a deeper political gloom overspread England, than in the Autumn of 1779, when I arrived in London from the Continent. I question, whether at the time of the Destruction of the ships of war lying in the Medway, burnt by the Dutch, under Charles the Second; or after the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets by the French, off Beachy-Head, in 1690, under William and Mary; which constitute two of the most calamitous Epochas in our History; greater despondency, consternation, and general dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the Kingdom. The disgraceful naval Campaign of 1778, in which Keppel's engagement off Ushant forms the principal or only feature; had been succeeded by another year of Hostilities, still more humiliating to Great Britain. D'Orvilliers, at the head of

the fleets of France and Spain, rode Master of the Channel for a considerable time; and the total want of enterprize, or of information on their part, alone saved the Town, as well as the Dock-yards at Plymouth, from falling into the enemy's possession. Not only was the place in want of many indispensable articles for repelling an Attack: even flints for the muskets, however incredible the fact may appear, were deficient. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded our fleet; inferior in numbers, and unapprized of the enemy's approach to the coast of England, remained quietly cruizing in the Atlantic, while they thus menaced our shores. Happily, the defect of intelligence, or of mutual confidence in the combined Squadrons, supplied every Ministerial neglect; and extricated the country from a calamity, which, had it taken place, must have shaken not only the Administration, but would have convulsed the Throne itself. Faction did not however less pervade the Navy, where the respective adherents of Keppel and of Palliser, carried their reciprocal rancour to the utmost height. The American war, after four unsuccessful Campaigns, began to grow odious to the nation: while the Administration, depressed under the weight of a contest, to which

the talents of the great Earl of Chatham might have been found unequal, did not manifest or exert the energy demanded by the nature of the emergency. Even the King, notwithstanding a display of private virtues, which since Charles the First had not been exhibited by any Sovereign of Great Britain, not even by William the Third, yet fully participated in the unpopularity of his Ministers. As he was supposed to feel a more than common interest in the reduction of his revolted subjects, so he was believed to exert a more than ordinary personal influence over the Cabinet which directed the operations of the war.

After the return of Lord Howe in 1778, from his unsuccessful Campaigns in America, the supreme naval command on that coast, as well as in the West Indies, devolved on Admiral Byron. He was a brother of Lord Byron, whose Duel with Mr. Chaworth rendered him unfortunately conspicuous in the Journals of the House of Peers. At an early period of his life, having been wrecked on the desart Coast of Patagonia, not far from Cape Horn, with Captain Cheap, in the "Wager" Frigate, he there endured inconceivable hardships, during a great length of time. An

intrepid and skilful, no less than an experienced naval Officer, he was nevertheless deficient in the judgment, promptitude, and decision of character, requisite for conducting the operations of a numerous fleet. On the element of the water, an evil destiny seemed invariably to accompany him, from his first expedition under Commodore Anson, down to the close of his professional life. So well was this fact known in the Navy, that the sailors bestowed on him the name of "Foul Weather Jack," and esteemed themselves certain of stormy weather, whenever they sailed under his Command, From the time of his leaving England in 1778, till his return about two years afterwards, all the tempests of the deep seemed to have conspired against him. No man could less say with Æolus, or rather with Holstenius,

"*Ventorumque* facis Tempestatumque potentem;"

Virgil having written the line,

"*Nimborumque* facis Tempestatumque potentem."

During the action which Byron fought with D'Estaign, in July, 1779, off Grenada, all the characteristic valour of the British was displayed, not only by the crews, but by the

Captains and their Commander. Yet the honors of the day were divided, while the advantages of it were reaped by France; though the slaughter of men on the side of the French prodigiously exceeded our loss. But, the West India islands, one after another, fell into the enemy's hands; and after the surrender of Grenada, when D'Estaign quitted Martinico, to carry the arms of Louis the Sixteenth against Savannah, he triumphantly swept the coast of America. We must reluctantly confess, that the Navy of England at this period of the present Reign, had sunk to a point of depression hardly conceivable, when compared with the times of Hawke, Saunders, and Boscawen; or if placed near the still more splendid period of Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson. We may incline to attribute so extraordinary a contrast, to the errors or inability of Lord North's Administration: the popular voice, I well know, sanctioned that accusation: but its cause lay principally in the nature of the contest, which depressing the national energy, unnerved the British spirit, and allowed France, during near four years, from 1778 to 1782, aided by Spain, to make such exertions, as acquired them a temporary ascendant on the Ocean. Byron, re-

called from his Command soon afterwards revisited England, and his name occurs no more in our naval History: but it has derived new Celebrity in the present times, from the poetic eminence to which his grandson has attained, by productions emulating the fame of Spenser, of Gray, of Mason, and of Scott.

To Byron, succeeded Rodney, who fills so distinguished a place during the unfortunate period of the American war: a naval Commander as much distinguished by the prosperous fatality which attended him, as Byron seemed to be under the influence of an unlucky Planet. Cardinal Mazarin, who, before he employed any individual, always asked, "*Est il heureux?*" had he been First Minister of England, might have selected Rodney, upon that principle, from among all the Admirals in the Navy. His person was more elegant than seemed to become his rough profession. There was even something that approached to delicacy and effeminacy in his figure: but no man manifested a more temperate and steady courage in Action. I had the honor to live in great personal intimacy with him, and have often heard him declare, that

superiority to fear was not in him the physical effect of constitution; on the contrary, no man being more sensible by nature to that passion than himself; but that he surmounted it from the considerations of honor and public duty. Like the famous Marshal Villars, he justly incurred the reputation of being "*glorieux et bavard*;" making himself frequently the theme of his own discourse. He talked much and freely upon every subject; concealed nothing in the course of conversation, regardless who were present; and dealt his censures, as well as his praises, with imprudent liberality: qualities which necessarily procured him many enemies, particularly in his own profession. Throughout his whole life, two passions, both highly injurious to his repose, women and Play, carried him into many excesses. It was universally believed that he had been distinguished in his youth, by the personal attachment of the Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Second, who displayed the same partiality for Rodney, which her cousin, the Princess Amelia of Prussia, manifested for Trenck. A living evidence of the former connexion existed, unless fame had recourse to fiction for support. But, detraction, in every age, from Elizabeth down to the pre-

sent times, has not spared the most illustrious females.

The love of Play had proved more ruinous in its effects to Rodney, and that indulgence compelled him, after quitting England, to take refuge at Paris. So great was his pecuniary distress while he resided in the French Capital, as to induce him to send over his second wife to London, early in 1777, with the view of procuring a subscription to be opened among the Members of the Club at White's, for his relief. Lady Rodney finding it however impracticable to raise any supplies from that source; after much ineffectual solicitation among Sir George's former friends, finally renounced the attempt. The old Marshal de Biron having soon afterwards, by an act of liberality, enabled Rodney to revisit his country, he made the strongest applications to the Admiralty for employment. His private circumstances, indeed, imperiously demanded every exertion when he was named, towards the Autumn of 1779, to command the expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, for the West Indies. I passed much time with him, at his residence in Cleveland Row, St. James's, down to the very mo-

ment of his departure. Naturally sanguine and confident, he anticipated in his daily conversation, with a sort of certainty, the future success which he should obtain over the enemy; and he had not only already conceived, but he had delineated, on paper the naval Manœuvre of breaking, or intersecting the Line, to which he afterwards was indebted in an eminent degree, for his brilliant victory over De Grasse: a Manœuvre then new in maritime Tactics, though now become familiar to us; and which Nelson practised with so much effect, in the Battle of the Nile, as well as on other occasions. Rodney possessed no superior parts; but, unlike Keppel, his enterprizing spirit always impelled him rather to risk, than to act with caution, when in presence of the enemy. The ardor of his character supplied, in some degree, the physical defects of his health and constitution, already impaired by various causes: while his happy audacity, directed by the nautical skill of others, controuled by science, and propelled by favourable circumstances, at length enabled him to dissipate the gloom that had so long overhung our naval Annals, at the same time that he covered himself with great personal glory.

The Ministry sustained about this time, a diminution of strength, and a loss of talents in the House of Peers, which an Administration so unpopular could ill afford, by the defection of Lord Lyttelton, who suddenly went over to the side of Opposition. His decease, not less sudden in its nature, took place immediately afterwards. He was a man of very considerable parliamentary abilities, who, notwithstanding the many glaring vices of his private character, might have made a conspicuous political figure, if he had not been carried off in the prime of life. His father, the first Lord Lyttelton, well known as an Historian and a Poet, derived not less respect from the elevation of his mind, and his many domestic virtues. The second Lord Lyttelton, by the profligacy of his conduct, and the abuse of his talents, seemed to emulate Dryden's Duke of Buckingham, or Pope's Duke of Wharton; both of whom he resembled in the superiority of his natural endowments, as well as in the peculiarity of his end. Villiers, the "Zimri" of Dryden's Poem of "Absalom and Achitophel;" after exhausting his health, and squandering his immense fortune in every species of excess or riot, expired, as is well known, at a wretched tenement, on his own estate

near Helmsley, in Yorkshire, abandoned by all his former admirers. Wharton, who acted a part under George the First, hardly less distinguished or eccentric, than Villiers had performed under Charles the Second; terminated his equally extraordinary career, exiled and attainted, among the Pyrenees, in an obscure Monastery of Catalonia, worn out by his pursuit of pleasures. Lyttelton, when scarcely thirty-six, breathed his last at a country house near Epsom, called Pit Place, from its situation in a chalk pit, where he witnessed, as he conceived, a supernatural appearance.

Having gone down there for purposes of recreation, with a gay party of both sexes, several among whom I personally knew; he had retired to bed, when a noise which resembled the fluttering of a dove or pidgeon heard at his chamber window, attracted his attention. He then saw, or thought he saw, a female figure, which approaching the foot of the bed, announced to him that in three days precisely from that time, he should be called from this state of existence. In whatever manner the supposed intimation was conveyed, whether by sound or by impression, it is certain that Lord Lyttelton considered the circum-

stance as real; that he mentioned it as such, to those persons who were in the house with him, that it deeply affected his mind, and that he died on the third night, at the predicted hour. About four years afterwards, in the year 1783, dining at Pit Place, I had the curiosity to visit the bed-chamber, where the casement window, at which, as Lord Lyttleton asserted, the dove appeared to flutter, was pointed out to me. And at his step-mother's, the Dowager Lady Lyttelton's, in Portugal-Street, Grosvenor Square, who being a woman of very lively imagination, lent an implicit faith to all the supernatural facts which were supposed to have accompanied or produced Lord Lyttelton's end; I have frequently seen a painting, which she herself executed in 1780, expressly to commemorate the event. It hung in a conspicuous part of her drawing room. There, the dove appears at the window, while a female figure, habited in white, stands at the bed foot, announcing to Lord Lyttelton his dissolution. Every part of the picture was faithfully designed after the description given her by the Valet de Chambre who attended him, to whom his master related all the circumstances. This man assured Lady Lyttelton, that on the night indicated, Lord Lyttelton,

who, notwithstanding his endeavours to surmount the impression, had suffered under great depression of spirits during the three preceding days, retired to bed before twelve o'clock. Having ordered the Valet to mix him some Rhubarb, he sat up in the bed, apparently in health, intending to swallow the medicine; but, being in want of a tea spoon, which the servant had neglected to bring, his master, with a strong expression of impatience, sent him to bring a spoon. He was not absent from the room more than the space of a minute; but when he returned, Lord Lyttelton, who had fallen back, lay motionless in that attitude. No efforts to restore animation, were attended with success. Whether, therefore, his death was occasioned by any new shock upon his nerves, or happened in consequence of an Apoplectic or other seizure, must remain matter of uncertainty and conjecture.

It is however to be observed, that the Lyttelton family, either from constitutional nervous irritability, or from other causes, was peculiarly susceptible of impressions similar to the shock which seems to have produced Lord Lyttleton's end. His father, though a man of very distinguished talents, manifested

great credulity, as I have been assured, on the subject of Apparitions: and his cousin, Miss Lyttelton, who married the present Sir Richard Hoare, died in a way somewhat similar, about four years later, at Stourhead. The second Lord Lyttelton's life had likewise been of a nature and description so licentious, not to say abandoned, as to subject him continually to the keenest reproaches of an accusing conscience. This domestic spectre, which accompanied him every where, was known to have given rise, while on his travels, particularly at Lyons, to scenes greatly resembling his last moments. Among the females who had been the objects and the victims of his temporary attachment, was a Mrs. Dawson, whose fortune, as well as her honor and reputation, fell a sacrifice to her passion. Being soon forsaken by him, she did not long survive; and distress of mind was known to have accelerated, if not to have produced her death. It was her image which haunted his pillow, and was supposed by him to have announced his approaching dissolution at Pit Place.

Lord North, who had presided during ten years at the head of Administration, continued in the Spring of 1780, to struggle with the ut-

most difficulty through the sixth Session of Parliament, against a numerous and augmenting Opposition in both Houses. His resignation, anxiously anticipated, seemed to be inevitable, and even imminent: but the ministerial disgraces, as well as the triumphs of the adverse party, were equally obliterated in a Calamity, which for the time of its duration, absorbed all attention. — I mean the Riots of June, 1780. No event in our Annals bears any analogy with the scene then exhibited in the Capital, except the Fire of London under Charles the Second. Even that misfortune wanted some of the melancholy and sanguinary features which characterized the tumults in question. During the conflagration of 1666, whatever stories may have been invented by party rage, or commemorated on public Monuments, by religious Antipathy, the inhabitants had only to contend with the progress of a devouring element. In 1780, the flames were originally kindled, as well as rendered far more destructive, by a populace of the lowest and vilest description, who carried with them, wherever they moved, the materials of universal ruin. It was only in their blood, by the interposition of an overwhelming military force, that the convulsion

became finally arrested; and that London, after being desolated by fire, was rescued from plunder, bankruptcy, and subversion. Even the French Revolution, which from July, 1789, down to April, 1814, either under the forms of a Republic, or of a military Despotism, has presented to mankind a pattern of every crime revolting and degrading to human nature; yet did not produce in the Capital of France, any similar outrages. At Lyons, it must be admitted that Collot d'Herbois in 1793, exercised the most savage vengeance on the Buildings of the city, as well as on the unfortunate Inhabitants. But, neither Robespierre, nor Bonaparte, though the former converted the Metropolis into a charnel-house; and though the vengeance, or atrocious ambition of the latter Adventurer has covered Europe with human bones, from the Tagus to the Moskwa; yet ever directed their destructive efforts against the public and private edifices of Paris.

I was personally present at many of the most tremendous effects of the popular fury on the memorable 7th of June, the night on which it attained its highest point. About nine o'clock on that evening, accompanied

by three other Gentlemen, who, as well as myself, were alarmed at the accounts brought in every moment, of the outrages committed; and of the still greater acts of violence meditated, as soon as darkness should favor and facilitate their further progress; we set out from Portland-place, in order to view the scene. Having got into a hackney-coach, we drove to Bloomsbury-square; attracted to that spot by a Rumour generally spread, that Lord Mansfield's residence, situate at the North-east corner, was either already burnt, or destined for destruction. Hart-Street and Great Russell-Street presented, each, to the view, as we passed, large fires composed of furniture taken from the houses of magistrates, or other obnoxious individuals. Quitting the coach, we crossed the Square, and had scarcely got under the wall of Bedford House, when we heard the door of Lord Mansfield's house burst open with violence. In a few minutes, all the contents of the apartments being precipitated from the windows, were piled up, and wrapt in flames. A file of foot-soldiers arriving, drew up near the blazing pile; but, without either attempting to quench the fire, or to impede the mob, who were indeed far too numerous to admit of their

being dispersed, or even intimidated, by a small detachment of Infantry. The populace remained masters; while we, after surveying the spectacle for a short time, moved on into Holborn, where Mr. Langdale's dwelling-house and warehouses afforded a more appalling picture of devastation. They were altogether enveloped in smoke and flame. In front had assembled an immense multitude of both sexes, many of whom were females, and not a few held infants in their arms. All appeared to be, like ourselves, attracted as spectators solely by curiosity, without taking any part in the acts of violence. The kennel of the street ran down with spirituous liquors, and numbers of the populace were already intoxicated with this beverage. So little disposition, however, did they manifest to riot or pillage, that it would have been difficult to conceive who were the authors and perpetrators of such enormous mischief, if we had not distinctly seen at the windows of the house, men, who while the floors and rooms were on fire, calmly tore down the furniture, and threw it into the street, or tossed it into the flames. They experienced no kind of opposition, during a considerable time that we remained at this place: but a party of the

Horse-Guards arriving, the terrified crowd instantly began to disperse; and we, anxious to gratify our farther curiosity, continued our progress on foot, along Holborn, towards Fleet-Market.

I would in vain attempt adequately to describe the spectacle which presented itself, when we reached the declivity of the Hill, close to St. Andrew's Church. The other House and Magazines of Mr. Langdale, who, as a Catholic, had been selected for the blind vengeance of the mob; situated in the hollow, near the North end of Fleet-Market, threw up into the air a pinnacle of flame resembling a Volcano. Such was the beautiful and brilliant effect of the illumination, that St. Andrew's Church appeared to be almost scorched by the heat of so prodigious a body of fire; and the figures on the Clock were as distinctly perceptible as at noon-day. It resembled indeed a Tower, rather than a private Building, in a state of Conflagration; and would have inspired the Beholder with a sentiment of admiration allied to pleasure, if it had been possible to separate the object, from its causes and its consequences. The wind did not however augment its rage on this occa-

sion; for the night was serene, and the sky unclouded, except when it became obscured by the volumes of smoke, which, from time to time produced a temporary darkness. The mob, which completely blocked up the whole Street in every part, and in all directions, prevented our approaching within fifty or sixty yards of the Building: but the populace, though still principally composed of persons allured by curiosity, yet evidently began here to assume a more disorderly and ferocious character. Troops, either horse or foot, we still saw none; nor, in the midst of this Combination of tumult, terror, and violence, had the ordinary Police ceased to continue its functions. While we stood by the wall of St. Andrew's Church-yard, a Watchman, with his lanthorn in his hand, passed us, calling the hour, as if in a time of profound tranquillity.

Finding it altogether impracticable to force our way any further down Holborn-Hill, and hearing that the Fleet prison had been set on fire, we penetrated through a number of narrow lanes, behind St. Andrew's Church, and presently found ourselves in the middle of Fleet-Market. Here, the same De-

struction raged, but in a different stage of its progress. Mr. Langdale's houses were already at the height of their demolition: the Fleet prison on the contrary was only beginning to blaze, and the sparks or flaming particles that filled the air, fell so thick upon us on every side, as to render unsafe its immediate vicinity. Meanwhile we began to hear the Platoons discharged on the other side of the river, towards St. George's Fields; and were informed, that a considerable number of the Rioters had been killed on Black-friar's Bridge, which was occupied by the Troops. On approaching it, we beheld the King's Bench prison completely wrapt in flames. It exhibited a sublime sight, and we might be said there to stand in a central point, from whence London offered on every side, before, as well as behind us, the picture of a city sacked and abandoned to a ferocious enemy. The shouts of the populace, the cries of women, the crackling of the fires, the blaze reflected in the stream of the Thames, and the irregular firing which was kept up both in St. George's Fields, as well as towards the quarter of the Mansion-House, and the Bank; — all these sounds, or images combined, left scarcely any thing for the imagination to supply; presenting to

the view every recollection which the classic descriptions in Virgil, or in Tacitus, have impressed on the mind in youth, but which I so little expected to see exemplified in the Capital of Great Britain.

Not yet satisfied, and hearing that an obstinate conflict was going on at the Bank, between the Soldiery and the Rioters, we determined, if possible, to reach that spot. We accordingly proceeded through St. Paul's Churchyard towards it, and had advanced without impediment to the Poultry, within about sixty paces of the Mansion House, when our progress was stopped by a Centinel, who acquainted us that the Mob had been repulsed in their attempt upon the Bank; but, that we could penetrate no further in that direction, as his orders were peremptory, not to suffer the passage of any person. Cheapside, silent and empty, unlike the Streets that we had visited, presented neither the appearance of tumult, nor of confusion; though to the East, West, and South, all was disorder. This contrast formed not the least striking circumstance of the moment. Prevented thus from approaching any nearer to the Bank, satiated in some measure with the scenes which we

had witnessed, and wearied by so long a peregrination, which, from our first alighting near Bloomsbury Square, had all been performed on foot; we resolved to return to the west end of the town. On Ludgate Hill we were fortunate enough to find a Hackney Coach, which conveyed us safely back, about four o'clock in the morning.

It is impossible for the most prejudiced person without violating truth, to accuse the Opposition of having had any participation as a body, direct or indirect, in these outrages. They were indeed themselves, individually, the objects of popular prejudice and violence, not less than the Ministers; Sir George Savile's house, in Leicester Square, having been one of the first assailed and plundered by the mob. Devonshire House in Piccadilly, menaced with the same fate, was considered as so insecure, that the Duchess of Devonshire yielding to her fears, did not venture to remain in it after dusk, for a considerable time. She took refuge at Lord Clermont's in Berkeley Square, where she deemed herself safe from attack, and lay down for successive nights, on a Sofa, or a small tent bed, placed in the Drawing Room.

Many other persons of both sexes, of the highest rank, either quitted their own residence, or sent their most valuable effects and jewels into the country. The first Minister, Lord North, passed that alarming night at his official residence in Downing Street, accompanied by a few Friends, who had repaired thither to offer him their personal aid, if circumstances should render it necessary for his protection.

One of those Gentlemen, Sir John Macpherson, has often recounted to me the particulars of that memorable evening, which I shall give in his own words, and which will be perused with no common interest. "A day or two before the 7th of June," said he, "Count Maltzan, then the Prus-"sian Minister at our Court, called on me, "and informed me that the Mob had de-"termined to attack the Bank. He added, "that the fact had come to his knowledge "through an authentic channel, on the ac-"curacy of which I might depend. Having "conveyed this information immediately to "Lord North, I received on the morning of "that day, an intimation to be at his house in "Downing Street, at dinner. When I got "there, I found Mr. Eden, (since created

" Lord Auckland) the Honourable General
" Simon Fraser, the Honourable John St.
" John, and Colonel North, afterwards Earl
" of Guilford. Mr. Brummell, Lord North's
" private Secretary, who lived likewise in the
" same Street, was in attendance, but did not
" make one of the Company. We sat down at
" table, and dinner had scarcely been remov-
" ed, when Downing Square, through which
" there is no outlet, became thronged with
" people, who manifested a disposition, or
" rather a determination, to proceed to acts
" of outrage. Lord North, with his habitual
" good humour, observed to me, 'you see,
" Macpherson, here is much confusion.
" Who commands the upper tier?' 'I do,'
" answered Colonel North, 'and I have got
" twenty or more Grenadiers well armed,
" stationed above stairs, who are ready on
" the first order, to fire upon the Mob.'
" General Fraser sat silent; while Mr. Eden,
" whose house was situated on the opposite
" side of the Square, only remarked calmly
" to Colonel North, that if the Grenadiers
" fired, their shot would probably enter his
" windows. The tumult without still con-
" tinuing, and it being uncertain from one
" minute to another, whether the populace

" might not proceed to extremities; Lord
" North said to me, ' What is to be done,
" Macpherson?' ' My opinion,' answered I,
" ' is to send out two or three persons, who
" mixing among the mob, may acquaint them
" that there are troops posted in the house,
" ready, without waiting for the Riot Act
" being read, to fire on them, the instant
" that they commit any outrage; exhorting
" them at the same time, for their own
" sakes, to disperse peaceably without de-
" lay. But,' added I, ' here sits General
" Fraser, who knows far better than any of
" us, what is wisest to be done, and who has
" not yet opened his mouth.' The populace
" continued to fill the little Square, and
" became very noisy; but they never at-
" tempted to force the street door. Mr. St.
" John held a pistol in his hand; and Lord
" North, who never lost an occasion of jest-
" ing, exclaimed, ' I am not half so much
" afraid of the mob, as of Jack St. John's
" pistol.' By degrees, as the evening ad-
" vanced, the people, informed from various
" quarters, that there were Soldiers posted
" in the house, ready to fire if they com-
" mitted any violence; began to cool, and
" afterwards gradually to disperse without

" further effort. We then sat down again " quietly to the table, and finished our wine."

" Night coming on, and the Capital pre- " senting a scene of tumult or conflagration " in many various quarters, Lord North, " accompanied by us all, mounted to the " top of the house, where we beheld London " blazing in seven places, and could hear " the Platoons regularly firing in various di- " rections. ' What is your opinion of " the remedy for this evil?' said Lord " North to me. ' I should try, my Lord,' " answered I, ' to effect a junction, or to " open some communication with the Heads " of Opposition, for the Protection of the " Country.' ' You talk,' replied he, ' as if " the thing could be done; but it is not " practicable.' I know however that a day " or two afterwards, notwithstanding the " opinion so given by Lord North, he and " Mr. Fox personally met, behind the Scenes " at the Opera House in the Haymarket, at " eleven in the forenoon. They held a con- " ference there; but of the nature of the " conversation which passed between them, " I am wholly ignorant." Such was Sir John Macpherson's account of the circum-

stances to which he was an eye-witness, at that moment of public calamity.

Lord George Germain, like the first Minister, having assembled some Friends, barricaded the passages and entrance to his house in Pall Mall, which was very susceptible of defence; after which, he coolly waited for the attack of the populace. But, the Rioters were too well informed of the precautions taken, to make any attempt on him. Even the King himself remained on foot, during the far greater part of that memorable night, which he passed between Buckingham House and the Royal Manege contiguous; into the latter of which Buildings, a detachment of the Horse Guards had been early admitted, who were ready to have sallied out upon the Insurgents. No man who knows the steadiness and firmness which His Majesty has since displayed in the most trying situations, when his person has been exposed to danger, can doubt that he would have given on that occasion, had it been unfortunately necessary, the strongest proofs of courage. He would not have acted the part which Louis the Sixteenth exhibited on the 10th of August, 1792; when, under similar circumstances, surrounded by a savage

mob, instead of defending himself to the last extremity, he abandoned the defence of his Palace, and of his Family, to take refuge in the National Assembly. George the Third had embraced the resolution of repelling force by force, in case of necessity, and of perishing in support of the laws, of civil order, and regular government, rather than survive their extinction. But, happily, no attempt was made by the Populace to attack any part of the Queen's House or Offices.

Various were the opinions and assertions hazarded, relative to the numbers that perished in the Riots between the third and the seventh of June, 1780; but as no certain Data can be obtained, beyond the official returns of killed and wounded, the amount must always remain matter of conjecture. Probably, it far exceeded the computation commonly made; and from the concurring testimony of those persons who were most competent to form a sound judgment, I believe it would not be over-rated at seven hundred individuals, killed and wounded. The slaughter was most considerable at the King's Bench, at the Bank, and on Black Friars Bridge. Colonel de Burgh, a Son of the Earl of Clanrickard, commanded one

of the Regiments sent to St. George's Fields. All the Troops did their duty, notwithstanding the efforts which the Populace exerted to seduce them, by calling on them as Protestants, and invoking their aid or their protection. Many of the Soldiers, in reply to these blandishments, exclaimed, that they would not hurt the mob. A great Nobleman, now alive, who, like myself, was a spectator of all the scenes of devastation committed on that night; told me that he felt strong doubts whether De Burgh's Regiment would actually draw the trigger. Impressed with that conviction, he mentioned his apprehensions on the point, to the Colonel; who instantly replied, that he knew his men, and could rely on their prompt obedience. The event justified his confidence: for, no sooner had he given the word of command to fire, than, levelling their firelocks, they soon compelled the Rioters to seek their safety in immediate dispersion. If the "Gardes "Francaises" in 1789, had behaved like our regular troops in 1780, the French Revolution might have been suppressed in its birth; and Europe would not have groaned during fourteen years, under the accumulated calamities inflicted on it by Bonaparte. But, the difference of character between the two Sove-

reigns of Great Britain and of France, constituted one great cause of the different fate that attended the two Monarchies. George the Third, when attacked, prepared to defend his Throne, his Family, his Country, and the Constitution entrusted to his care. They were in fact saved by his decision. Louis the Sixteenth tamely abandoned all to a ferocious Jacobin Populace, who sent him to the scaffold. No man of courage or of principle could have quitted the former Prince. It was impossible to save, or to rescue, the latter ill-fated, yielding, and passive Monarch.

Many of the Rioters, who fell at Black Friars Bridge, or in its vicinity, where the slaughter was most considerable, were immediately thrown over into the Thames, by their companions. The carnage which took place at the Bank likewise was great, though not of very long duration; and in order to conceal as much as possible the magnitude of the number, as well as the names of the persons who perished, similar precautions were taken. All the dead bodies being carried away during the night, were precipitated into the River. Even the impressions made by the Musket balls, on the houses opposite to the

Bank, were as much as possible erased next morning, and the buildings whitewashed. Government and the Rioters seem to have felt an equal disposition, by drawing a veil over the extent of the calamity, to bury it in profound darkness. To Colonel Holroyd, since deservedly raised to the British Peerage as Lord Sheffield, and to his Regiment of Militia, the country was eminently indebted for repelling the fury of the mob at the Bank; where, during some moments, the conflict seemed doubtful, and the assailants had nearly forced an entrance. Lord Algernon Percy, now Earl of Beverley, marched likewise at the head of the Northumberland Militia, to the same spot. Their arrival, together with the energy, promptitude, and decision which Colonel Holroyd manifested, principally conduced to ensure the safety of that great National Establishment. Numbers concealed their wounds, in order to evade discovery of the part which they had taken in the disorders of the Capital. It is however indisputable, that almost all who perished were of a low and obscure description.

If the mob had been conducted by leaders of system or ability, London must have been fun-

damentally overturned on that night. The Bank, the India House, and the Shops of the great Bankers, would in that case have been early attacked; instead of throwing away their rage, as they did, on Popish Chapels, private houses, and prisons. When they began, after their first fury had exhausted itself, to direct their blows more systematically and skilfully, the time for action was passed. Government, which was accused with reason of having appeared supine during the first days of June, awoke early enough to preserve the Metropolis and public credit, from sustaining the last shock of popular violence. In fact, from the instant that the three Bridges over the Thames were occupied by regular troops, the danger was at an end. This awful convulsion, which, on Wednesday, the *seventh* of June, seemed to menace the destruction of every thing; was so completely quelled, and so suddenly extinguished, that on the *eighth*, hardly a spark survived of the popular effervescence. Some few persons in the Borough of Southwark, attempted to repeat the outrages of Wednesday; but they were easily and immediately quelled by the military force. Never was a contrast exhibited more striking, than between those two evenings,

in the same city! The patroles of Cavalry, stationed in the Squares and great streets throughout the West End of the Town, gave London the aspect of a Garrison; while the Camp which was immediately afterwards formed in St. James's Park, afforded a picturesque landscape; both sides of the Canal, from the Queen's House down to the vicinity of the Horse Guards, being covered with tents and troops.

The common danger, which united all Parties for the time, extinguished, or at least suspended, in some measure, even the virulence of political enmity. Alarmed at the prospect of impending Destruction, some of the principal Leaders of the Opposition repaired, unasked, to St. James's, under pretence of offering their services to the Administration; nearly as the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle had done in July, 1714, when Queen Anne lay insensible, near her end. The Marquis of Rockingham hearing that a Privy Council was summoned to meet on the morning of the 7th of June, which all who enjoyed seats at that Board, were called or invited to attend, made his appearance in an undress, his hair disordered, and with testimo-

nies of great consternation. Nor did he, when seated at the Table, where the King was present, spare the Ministers, for having, as he asserted, by their negligence, or want of timely energy, allowed the Assemblage of People to take place in St. George's Fields, which original Meeting led to all the subsequent Outrages. It is nevertheless incontestable, that to the Decision manifested by His Majesty on that occasion, the safety of the Metropolis, and its extrication from all the Calamities that impended over it, was principally, or solely to be ascribed. Elizabeth, or William the Third, could not have displayed more calm and systematic courage in the highest sense of the term, than George the Third exhibited in so trying a moment. Far from throwing himself for support or guidance on his Cabinet, as a Prince of feeble character would have done; he came forward, and exhibited an example of self-devotion to his Ministers. It is well known that at the Council to which I have alluded, the King assisted in person. The great question was there discussed, on which hinged the protection and preservation of the Capital; a question, respecting which, the first legal characters were divided; and on which, Lord Mansfield himself, was with

reason accused of never having clearly expressed his opinion up to that time. Doubts existed, whether Persons riotously collected together, and committing Outrages or Infractions of the Peace, however great, might legally be fired on by the military power, without staying previously to read the Riot Act. Mr. Wedderburn, since successively raised to the dignity of a Baron and of an Earl of Great Britain, who was then Attorney-general, having been called in to the Council Table, and ordered by the King to deliver his official opinion on the point; stated in the most precise terms, that any such Assemblage might be dispersed by military force, without waiting for forms, or reading the Riot Act. "Is that your declaration of the law, as "Attorney-general?" said the King. Wedderburn answering decidedly in the affirmative, "Then so let it be done," rejoined His Majesty. The Attorney-general drew up the Order immediately, on which Lord Amherst acted the same evening, and the complete suppression of the Riots followed in the course of a few hours. Never had any people a greater obligation to the judicious Intrepidity of their Sovereign!

Nor ought we to deny the merit due to Wedderburn, for having with so much decision cut the Gordian knot, which the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, either could not, or would not untie. His inexplicit Declarations on the subject, involuntarily remind us of the accusations levelled against him by "Junius," when, speaking of Lord Mansfield, he says, "Besides his natural "timidity, it makes part of his political plan, "never to be known to recommend violent "measures. When the Guards are called "forth to murder their fellow subjects, it "is not by the ostensible advice of Lord "Mansfield." Here we see him in 1780, acting precisely as he had done twelve years earlier, in 1768. Nor is it a less curious and extraordinary Fact, that the very exertion by which the King preserved London in June, 1780, from suffering the utmost extremities of violence and pillage, constitutes, *as a principle*, the subject of "Junius's se-"verest Reflexions upon him, in March, "1770." "Did His Majesty," says he, "consult the laws of this Country, when he "permitted his Secretary of State to declare, "that whenever the civil Magistrate is trifled

" with, a military force must be sent for, " *without the delay of a moment*, and effec- " tually employed?" So true is it, that at every period of his life, the King manifested the same consistency of character, and superiority to personal apprehension. When nevertheless, we reflect that in 1768, a Magistrate of the county of Surry had been capitally accused and brought to trial, for ordering the Soldiery to fire on Rioters engaged in the most violent acts of Outrage in St. George's Fields, though the Riot Act had been twice read; we cannot be surprised at the apprehension displayed by Lord Mansfield, to sanction and authorize the same proceeding in 1780. The Sovereign alone, as First Magistrate, impelled by the awful nature of the Emergency, and he only, could have taken upon him so serious a Responsibility.

No individual manifested more abhorrence of the Rioters, or exposed himself by his declarations on that subject, to more personal danger than Burke; whom his enemies accused of having been brought up in the tenets or principles of the Romish faith. This conduct did him great honour, and proved him superior to the meanness of Party. His house in the

Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, was threatened, but not attacked. Fox contented himself with condemning the Authors of the Disorders, but took no active part in their suppression. On the contrary, he refused to lend any personal support to Government, when pressed in the House of Commons, to co-operate for the extrication of the Capital; though Burke, who was there present, loudly expressed his wish for unanimity and association in that moment of national distress. It is impossible not to recollect, that as they thus diverged in different lines during the Riots of 1780, so in 1792, twelve years later, they exhibited a similar diversity of conduct; Burke lending his powerful aid to prop monarchical Government, while Fox remained the advocate of Republicanism, and the apologist of the French Revolution. Wilkes, who in the early part of His Majesty's reign, had made so glorious a resistance to General Warrants, displayed as manly a resistance to popular violence, during the whole progress of the Riots; and had he filled the chair of Chief Magistrate, instead of Kennett, would unquestionably, by his vigour, have prevented many or all the disgraceful Scenes which took place in the Capital.

All the proofs given by Opposition, of their detestation for these calamitous Exhibitions of popular fury, did not, however, produce complete conviction. Many persons still believed, that some of the great Parliamentary Leaders secretly fomented, or privately encouraged the Rioters. The natural expectation of producing a change in Ministry, was imagined to suspend or supersede every other consideration; and it was even pretended, though on very insufficient grounds, that Peers did not scruple to take an active part in the worst excesses of the night of the Seventh of June. Public clamour selected the Earl of Effingham in particular, as an object of accusation. It was generally asserted, that he had mingled with the Rioters on Black-friars Bridge; that he had there been mortally wounded, and his body afterwards thrown into the River, by those of his own party; but, not till he had been identified and recognized by his dress, particularly by his laced ruffles. Those who were acquainted with that Nobleman, and who knew his style of dress, instantly detected the absurdity, as well as falsity of the charge; for no man was ever less distinguished by any ornaments of apparel. His sudden disappearance from London, where he certainly had

been seen at the commencement of the Riots; the general ignorance in which people remained, of the place to which he had withdrawn; and his known, as well as violent, dislike to the Administration; — all these circumstances conduced, nevertheless, to maintain the delusion for a considerable time. At the beginning of the ensuing winter, he re-appeared in the House of Lords, in his usual health; and stated to his acquaintance, that early in June, he had gone down to his seat of Grainge Hall in Yorkshire, where he had ever since resided. Such as still remained incredulous, explained his absence by saying, that he had been hurt or wounded on the 7th of June; but it is probable that the report originated altogether in calumny.

Lord George Gordon, the primary author of these outrages, was not taken into custody, till two or three days after they had been suppressed. Ministers were reproached with not having committed him to the Tower on the second of June, when he assembled, harangued, and excited the mob to extort compliance with their demands from the House of Commons. But, the attempt to seize and to send him to prison, at a time

when every avenue to the House was thronged with multitudes, when the Lobby overflowed with them, and when the doors of the House itself might have been, every instant, forced in; would have formed an imprudent, not to say a dangerous experiment. It is difficult to find any instance in our Annals, when Parliament received a grosser insult; or when the members composing both Houses incurred a greater risk of falling victims to popular violence. The mobs of 1641, and the following year, under Charles the First, directed their rage against the Sovereign and his principal advisers, not against the Representatives of the Nation. Cromwell, when in 1653 he drove out and dissolved the Rump Parliament, offered no outrage to their persons, but simply broke up the legislative Assembly by a military force. The tumults in 1733, when Sir Robert Walpole first attempted to introduce the Excise Laws, seem to form the nearest approach or similarity to the proceedings in 1780; but, *longo intervallo*.

It cannot be doubted that if the populace had forced their way into the House of Commons, Lord George would not have survived to recount the exploit. Many Members who

were there present, justly indignant at his conduct, threatened him with instant death, as soon as any of the rioters should burst open the doors. The late Earl of Carnarvon, then Mr. Henry Herbert, followed him close, with that avowed determination; and General Murray, uncle to the present Duke of Athol, a man whom I intimately knew, and who, when incensed, was capable of executing the most desperate resolution; held his sword ready to pass it through Lord George's body, on the first irruption of the mob. It will always remain disputable, whether ambition, fanaticism, or alienation of mind, contributed most to the part which he acted, in assembling, and inciting the people to acts of violence. That he was not insensible to the political consideration which he obtained from his personal influence over so vast a multitude, cannot be questioned. To religious enthusiasm or conviction, something may perhaps be fairly attributed; but, more must be laid to the deranged state of his understanding, though nothing in his conduct or deportment could possibly subject him to be considered as insane. He appears in fact to have been perfectly master of himself, and in possession of all his faculties, during every stage of the

Riots; nor is it to be imagined that he either foresaw or intended, any of the outrages which were committed after the second of June. But he had put in motion a machine, of which he could not regulate or restrain the movements: and unquestionably, the mob which set fire to London, was of a far more savage, as well as atrocious description, than the original assemblage of people who met in St. George's Fields. The late Lord Rodney, who was then an Officer in the Guards, told me, that having been sent on the night of the 7th of June, to the defence of the Bank of England, at the head of a detachment of his Regiment, he there found Lord George Gordon, who appeared anxiously endeavouring, by expostulation, to induce the populace to retire. As soon as Lord George saw Captain Rodney, he strongly expressed his concern at the acts of violence committed; adding, that he was ready to take his stand by Captain Rodney's side, and to expose his person to the utmost risk, in order to resist such proceedings. Rodney, who distrusted however his sincerity, and justly considered him as the original cause of all the calamities, declined any communication with him; only exhorting him, if he wished to stop the

further effusion of blood, and to prevent the destruction of the Bank, to exert himself in dispersing the crowd. But, whatever might be his inclination, he was altogether destitute of the power. The military force alone saved the Bank from being plundered, and prevented the temporary subversion of the national credit.

I knew Lord George Gordon well, and I once accompanied him from a party where we met, in Lower Grosvenor Street, at the late Lord Elcho's, to Ranelagh, in the summer of 1782, in his own Coach: in his person he was thin, his features regular, and his complexion pale. His manners were gentle, his conversation agreeable, and he had the appearance, as well as the deportment, of a man of quality. There was however something in his cast of countenance and mode of expression, that indicated cunning, or a perverted understanding, or both. His whole income consisted, I believe, in an annuity of six hundred Pounds a year, paid him by the Duke of Gordon, his brother. It forms a singular subject of reflection, that after involving London in all the horrors of insurrection and Anarchy, he should have escaped any punishment for these pro-

ceedings, which cost the lives of so many individuals, and the demolition of so many edifices; while he expiated by a rigorous imprisonment to the end of his days, in Newgate, the publication of a libel on the late unfortunate Queen of France, who, herself, perished on the Scaffold. He exhibited the strongest attestation of the sincerity of his conversion to Judaism, by submitting to one of the most painful ceremonies or acts enjoined by the Mosaic Law. The operation, which was performed at Birmingham, confined him to his chamber, if not to his bed, for a considerable time; and he preserved with great care, the sanguinary proofs of his having undergone the amputation. Few individuals occupy a more conspicuous, or a more unfortunate place in the Annals of their country, under the reign of George the Third. He will rank in History, with Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, the incendiaries of the Plantagenet times; or with Kett, so memorable under Edward the Sixth.

The elements seemed to conspire with all the foreign enemies of Great Britain, at this period; the Hurricane of October, 1780, which took place in the West Indies, being one of

the most tremendous in its nature, as well as violent in its effects, commemorated in the course of the eighteenth Century. Though its destructive rage spread devastation in a greater or a less degree, over the whole chain of the Carribee Islands, yet Barbadoes experienced its greatest fury, together with the severest loss of lives and property. A friend of mine, General James Cunningham, was then Governor of the Colony. He has related to me, that after remaining above ground as long as it was practicable with safety, he, accompanied by a number of his family and domestics, took refuge in a small cellar, several feet lower than the level of the Street, at Bridge Town, the Capital of the settlement. Here, indeed, they found themselves secure against being crushed under the ruins of the house which they had just quitted, or from being completely borne off and swept away by the force of the wind. But, they were soon assailed by two new misfortunes, against which they could provide no sufficient remedy. The first inconvenience arose from the severe cold which they endured; the climate having changed, in the course of a few hours, from intense heat, to a contrary extreme. The other evil, which was of a still more alarming

nature, threatened their destruction, from the rain which flowed in upon them in great quantity, as it fell in torrents. While they remained in this deplorable situation, up to the knees in water, doubtful whether to continue in the cellar, where about twenty of them huddled together, were crouded into a very narrow space; or whether to attempt reaching some more secure shelter; a tall athletic Negro of General Cunningham's family, who lay upon him, in a posture which did not admit of his moving, said to the General, "Massa, if I not make water, I die." "Do it then in God's name," answered he. The Negro had no sooner received this permission, than instantly availing himself of it, he bedewed the General, from the nape of his neck, to his very shoes; much, as we are taught to believe, in the manner of a Hottentot Priest, when celebrating the nuptial ceremony. "But," added Cunningham, when relating the story, "never did I experience a "more grateful sensation than was produced "by this warm libation, which seemed to ani- "mate my frozen frame, and to revivify my "body. I regretted when it stopped, and I "derived from it essential service in the hor- "rors of that indescribable night."

The situation of the Negro, impelled by a necessity paramount to all respect or restraint, reminds me of a fact somewhat similar, which took place at the palace of Sans Souci. The great Frederic, in a select society, having been one day more elevated and convivial than usual after dinner, was induced by the gaiety of the conversation, to prolong the accustomed limits of the repast, and to detain his guests to a late hour. His Majesty furnished, himself, the chief share of the entertainment, by the brilliancy of his sallies; but he forgot, unfortunately, that his guests were men. One of them, an old General, who was often among the persons invited to the royal table, but whose powers of retention had suffered in the course of twelve Campaigns; anticipated with extreme impatience, the moment when the King, by rising, would permit of his quitting the apartment. In this hope and expectation, he long supported with unshaken fortitude, one of the most pressing demands of nature. Overcome at length, and yielding to a power stronger than himself, he suddenly rose from his chair, and exclaiming, "*Sire*, "*Tout est grand dans Votre Majesté, jusqu'a* "*la Vessie meme. Sire, Je me meurs,*" ran out of the room. Frederic was charmed with

the ingenuity of the compliment, and laughed heartily at the General's distress, which might however have proved fatal to him. Tycho Brahe's death was caused by a precisely similar act of imprudent respect.

Parliament having been dissolved early in September, I was elected one of the Members for Hindon in the county of Wilts ; and the new House of Commons meeting towards the end of October, the first Debate turned on the choice of a Speaker. Lord George Germain, not Lord North, commenced the proceedings on that evening, and performed the principal part. It was not intended by Ministers, that Sir Fletcher Norton, who during near eleven years, ever since the resignation of Sir John Cust in January, 1770, had filled the Chair, should re-occupy it in the new Parliament. He had given umbrage during the Session of 1777, both to the Sovereign, and to the Administration, by a memorable Speech, which he addressed to the King, while standing in his official capacity, at the Bar of the House of Peers. And though the admonition or exhortation that he thought proper then to use, had met with the approbation both of the House of Commons, and of the

Country, yet it unquestionably produced his eventual exclusion from the employment of Speaker. Lord North having tried the ground at St. James's, found His Majesty determined upon the point. Conscious, nevertheless, that it would be highly unpopular to place his intended dismission on such a basis, Ministers availed themselves of Sir Fletcher's ill state of health, which had considerably impeded the progress of public business in the preceding Session, as forming a sufficient cause for his removal. While, therefore, they passed high eulogiums on his ability and talents, they lamented that infirmities of body rendered it improper to ask of him, or to accept from him, a continuance of his public services. Sir Fletcher however, rising in his place, and speaking from the Opposition Bench, while he was sustained by that powerful and numerous Phalanx, endeavoured to point out the latent enmity, as well as the obvious nullity, of the Ministerial arguments. He affected, it is true, to disclaim any wish of being again placed in the Speaker's Chair; but he took care to accompany the declaration, by an assertion of his perfect physical capacity to meet its duties and fatigues. His appearance seemed indeed to present the aspect of a man, who, though

somewhat declined in years, did not manifest any tokens of decay. All the attacks levelled by Norton's friends, on the Opposition side of the House, at Lord North, personally, could neither induce nor provoke the First Minister to open his lips on the occasion. He remained profoundly silent; but Mr. Rigby, unintimidated by the clamors of Sir Fletcher's adherents, after boldly avowing that he was dismissed for his political trespasses, justified his exclusion from the Chair, on parliamentary or on Ministerial grounds. Cornwall was chosen Speaker, by a very large Majority.

Sir Fletcher Norton, though perhaps justly accused, as a professional man, of preferring profit to conscientious delicacy of principle; and though denominated in the coarse Satires or Caricatures of that day, by the Epithet of "Sir Bullface Doublefee;" yet possessed eminent parliamentary, as well as legal talents. Far from suffering in his capacity of Speaker, by a comparison either with his immediate predecessor or successor in that high Office, he must be considered as very superior to both. The Chair of the House of Commons, during the whole course of the eighteenth Century, was never filled with less

dignity or energy, than by Sir John Cust, whom Wilkes treats in all his letters, with the most contemptuous irony or insult. Cornwall possessed every physical quality requisite to ornament the place; a sonorous voice, a manly, as well as imposing figure, and a commanding deportment: but his best recommendation to the Office, consisted in the connexion subsisting between him and Mr. Charles Jenkinson, then Secretary at War, which the marriage of the former Gentleman, with the sister of the latter, had cemented. After his election, Cornwall gave little satisfaction, and had recourse to the narcotic virtues of Porter, for enabling him to sustain its fatigue: an Auxiliary which sometimes becoming too powerful for the Principal who called in its assistance, produced inconveniences. The "Rolliad," alluding to the Speaker's Chair, as it was filled in 1784, says,

"There Cornwall sits, and ah! compelled by Fate,
Must sit for ever through the long Debate;
Save when compelled by Nature's sovereign will,
Sometimes to empty, and sometimes to fill."——
——"Like sad Prometheus fastened to the Rock,
In vain he looks for Pity to the Clock;
In vain the Powers of strengthening Porter tries,
And nods to *Bellamy* for fresh supplies."

We may here remark, as a curious fact, that Sir Fletcher's dismission from the Office of Speaker, conducted him, within eighteen months to the Dignity of the Peerage; an elevation which he owed solely to the jealousies and rivalities that arose between Lord Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, as soon as they got into Power: whereas, Cornwall, his successful competitor, after presiding more than eight years in the House of Commons, died without ever entering the House of Lords. It was thus that Dunning reached that Goal, while Wallace missed it. So much has the disposition of events, which in common language we denominate Fortune, to do with the affairs of Men, in defiance of Juvenal's

" Nos te,
" Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, Cæloque locamus."

Little consolation can be derived during this gloomy period of our History, from carrying our view beyond the Metropolis, to the extremities of the Empire, or from considering the operations of the war by sea and land. As Geary had succeeded to the Command of the Channel fleet, by Hardy's death, so Darby took the same Command soon afterwards, in consequence of Geary's resignation. None of these names will be pronounced with en-

thusiasm by Posterity. Admiral Barrington, by his repulse of D'Estaign at St. Lucie, acquired the only renown gained on the Ocean, from the commencement of Hostilities in July, 1778, till the period when Rodney was sent out to the West Indies. The disgraceful disputes between Keppel and Palliser, which, after convulsing the Navy, and dividing the Kingdom, began insensibly to fall into oblivion; were again revived during the short time that the House of Commons remained sitting before the Christmas Recess. In consequence of Sir Hugh Palliser's appointment to the Government of Greenwich Hospital, the events of the 27th July, 1778, were discussed anew, with all the acrimony of Party. Sir Hugh, in his defence, read at the Table of the House, a paper, the length, dulness, and insipidity of which, put the patience of his auditors, as I well remember, to a severe trial. I have, however, always considered him as an able, meritorious, and calumniated naval Officer, who fell a sacrifice to Ministerial unpopularity. Lord North, with whom, not to be defeated, constituted a sort of victory; and who generally contented himself with half triumphs; after defending Palliser with his usual ability, and with more than his common

animation; having thus rescued him from the fangs of his enemies, aimed at no further advantage, but moved for an Adjournment early in December.

As if to complete the Climax of our national misfortunes at this humiliating period, Holland was added to the number of our enemies; war being declared against the Seven United Provinces, before the close of 1780, notwithstanding the repugnance equally felt at such a rupture, by the King of Great Britain, and by the Stadtholder. More than a Century had then elapsed since we had been engaged in Hostilities with the Dutch, under the profligate reign of Charles the Second. During some portion of the intermediate time, the two countries had been governed by one Prince; and one soul might be said to animate their counsels after the expulsion of James the Second, when directed to stem the current of Louis the Fourteenth's arms in the Netherlands. Even subsequent to King William's decease, the United Provinces made common cause with his successor, under Marlborough: but the disgraceful termination of that great struggle, dissevered England and Holland. After the Peace of Utrecht, no close nor cor-

dial union subsisted between the Cabinets of the Hague and of St. James's. The Dutch were, indeed, prevailed on to join George the Second, as auxiliaries, though not as principals, in the war of 1743, undertaken to preserve Maria Theresa on the throne of her father Charles the Sixth. Unfortunately, the English, Dutch, and Austrian armies, which, while conducted by the great talents of Eugene and Marlborough, had nearly driven Louis the Fourteenth to the last extremities; when led by Konigseck, and by William, Duke of Cumberland, were every where defeated on the same plains. Marshal Saxe demolished the Barrier that protected Holland against the overwhelming power of France; and only the moderation or indolence of Louis the Fifteenth, which checked his conquests, gave peace to Europe in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle. That Prince, had he been animated by the ambition of his predecessor, or by the spirit of conquest which impelled the French Republic in 1795, might have entered Amsterdam, and have subjected the Zuyder sea to his dominion. Escaped from this imminent peril, the Dutch remained neutral spectators of the Contest which took place between us and France in 1756, when

Flanders, which for near a Century had constituted the Palœstra of Europe, became a country of repose; and the House of Austria for the first time joined her inveterate foe, the House of Bourbon. It was reserved for the calamitous Æra of the American war, which familiarized us with disgraces and reverses, to witness Holland openly ranged against Great Britain, under the banners of Louis the Sixteenth and Charles the Third. The Opposition exulted at the Declaration of Hostilities taking place between the two Countries, as setting the seal to Lord North's ministerial embarrassments. Nor could it be denied, that the necessity for blocking the Mouth of the Texel, and probably engaging the Dutch Fleet at the entrance of their own ports, in the depressed, as well as inferior state of the British Navy; augmented the difficulties under which the Administration laboured, while it encreased the unpopularity of the Sovereign.

Yet never did any Government make greater efforts to avert and avoid a rupture, than were exerted by Lord North's Cabinet. Sir Joseph Yorke, who, by long residence in Holland, had become in some measure naturalized at the Hague, exhausted every

art of diplomacy, to stem the current of French and American politics. The Stadtholder, no less than the majority of the people throughout the Seven United Provinces, nourished the warmest partiality towards Great Britain: but the Prince of Orange had lost the public respect which his high Office ought to have excited; and the nation, immersed in narrow speculations of commercial advantage, displayed no spark of that public spirit, which had operated such powerful effects against Philip the Second and Third, during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. The Pensionary, Van Berkel, acting under the impulse of Maurepas and of Vergennes, precipitated his countrymen on war with England, by signing a treaty with the American Insurgents; precisely as Madison, in the Summer of 1812, commenced hostilities with us, by the suggestions of his Corsican Director. Nor did Fox and Burke arraign more severely the measures of Lord North, as having produced the rupture with Holland; than the Leaders of Opposition in the House of Commons, inveighed against the line of conduct on the part of Ministers, which led to the late contest with America. Both wars arose from a similar cause; the apparently

desperate, or highly alarming condition of England. In 1780, we appeared to be rapidly sinking under the combination of European, Asiatic, and American foes. In 1812, Bonaparte, Master of the Continent, from the frontiers of Portugal to those of Russia, prepared to consummate the subjugation of Europe, by a march to Moscow. To Van Berkel, and to Madison, the occasion seemed equally favourable for the developement of their rancourous enmity to the English Government. The measures of the former Minister led, at no distant period of time, in the space of about fifteen years, to the subjugation and subversion of the Republic of Holland. Futurity will shew whether the policy of Madison, if his base subservience to Bonaparte can merit the name, will prove more successful; and how far the American President will justly challenge the future gratitude of his countrymen, more than the Pensionary of Amsterdam merited the support of the Dutch.

Nearly about the same time, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, expired at Vienna, after a reign of forty years, during which she had exhibited a memorable instance of the vicissitudes of fortune. Like Frederic,

King of Prussia, she acceded in 1740, and a great portion of their lives was passed in mutual hostility. The strength of her mind, and the tenacity of her character, sustained her amidst difficulties, which a woman of inferior resolution could not have surmounted. Since the death of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in 1603, Europe had not beheld any female on the Throne, who united so many private virtues, to so many great public endowments. Maria Theresa manifested a masculine mind, blended with feminine qualities calculated to conciliate universal affection. As a Sovereign, she possessed far greater resources, constancy, and energy, than had been exhibited by her father, the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Her caution, experience, and moderation, restrained the pernicious activity of her Son and Successor, Joseph the Second. His accession to the Dominions of the House of Austria, forms an unfortunate Æra in the history of that Family; and was one of the many concurring circumstances which eventually facilitated the progress of the French Arms in the Netherlands, after the Revolution.

Though sinking under the accumulated pressure of advancing age, as well as of dis-

ease and infirmity, Maria Theresa retained the possession of all her faculties, nearly to the last moments of her life. Religion and resignation smoothed its close. Two of the Archduchesses, her daughters, Maria and Elizabeth, who remained unmarried, constantly attended about her bed; but I have been assured that they could not prevail on their mother, though they earnestly entreated it, even a short time preceding her dissolution, to bequeath her blessing to the Archduchess Amelia, their Sister. That Princess, who had been married to Don Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, was supposed to have committed great irregularities of every kind. Only a short time before Maria Theresa breathed her last, having apparently fallen into a sort of insensibility, and her eyes being closed; one of the Ladies near her person, in reply to an enquiry made respecting the state of the Empress, answered that her Majesty seemed to be asleep. "No," replied she, "I could sleep, if I would indulge "repose; but I am sensible of the near "approach of death, and I will not allow "myself to be surprized by him in my sleep. "I wish to meet my dissolution, awake." There is nothing transmitted to us by Antiquity, finer than this answer, which is divested of

all ostentation. Voltaire himself, Cynic as he was, and always severe upon crowned heads, must have admired it. Even the great Frederic, who survived Maria Theresa near six years, though he met the approach of death with philosophy and fortitude, yet betrayed much reluctance, displayed some peevishness, and perhaps a little affectation or vanity, in the preparations for his departure. Neither Augustus, nor Vespasian, nor Adrian, though each of these Emperors seems to have contemplated death with a steady countenance, and almost with a smiling look; yet manifested more perfect self possession in the last act of life. Maria Theresa was as much superior in virtue to her contemporary, Catherine the Second, as she fell beneath that Princess in brilliancy of talents. In the arts of reigning, in courage, in benignity of disposition, and in solid endowments of understanding, the Austrian may dispute for superiority even with the Russian Empress. Posterity will perhaps confer more admiration on the latter Princess, but must reserve its moral approbation and esteem for the former Sovereign.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF
MY OWN TIME.

PART THE SECOND.

January, 1781.

I AM now arrived, in the course of these Memoirs, at the beginning of the year 1781. Before, however, we enter on the political events of that disastrous period, it seems indispensable that we should survey the character of the Sovereign, of the Cabinet Ministers, of the Leaders of Opposition, and the principal persons in both Houses of the new Parliament. Great Britain did not then present the same august, majestic, and interesting spectacle to mankind, which we have since exhibited, even during the most disastrous moments of the late Revolutionary War. The Empire, under Lord North's Administration, was shaken and convulsed in almost every quarter. Domestic faction pervaded

all the Departments of Government, infected the Navy, and manifested itself in every Debate of either House of Parliament. The English were discontented; the Scots were sullen; and the Irish had become clamorous for political, as well as for commercial emancipation. A Ministry, the members of which body did not always act in union, and still prosecuting a hopeless contest with America; whatever ability the individuals composing it might separately possess, yet inspired no public confidence in the success of their future measures. National Credit began to droop under the expences of a war carried on across the Atlantic, at an immense distance: while the commerce of the Country suffered at least in an equal degree, from the depredations of the enemy. Nor had Lord North provided, as Mr. Pitt afterwards did in 1786, any *Sinking Fund* for the gradual extinction of the Taxes which he annually imposed. The great Continental Powers looked on, either as unconcerned spectators, or as secret enemies. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, who had recently succeeded to the Bohemian and Hungarian Thrones; imitating in this instance his mother's line of policy, and occupied with domestic Reforms of

various kinds, took indeed no open part. But, connected as he was with France, by his sister's marriage to Louis the Sixteenth, his inclinations might be supposed to lean towards the House of Bourbon. The great Frederic, sinking in years, as well as under the pressure of diseases and infirmities; satiated with military fame; attentive principally to the improvement of his dominions, and the augmentation of his Revenue; always attached from disposition, to the manners, language, and crown of France; beheld with satisfaction, the augmenting embarrassments of the English Government. He had never forgiven Lord Bute for retaining, when First Minister, the Subsidy claimed by Prussia in 1762; and he nourished a dislike to the Country, which, as he perhaps justly conceived, had broken its faith with him on so important a point. Catherine the Second, ever anxious to throw a veil of glory over the tragical circumstances which placed her on the Russian throne, by aggrandizing the Russian Empire; and availing herself with ability of the distress of England, contending against so many adversaries; set up pretensions to a maritime exemption from the Right of Search, claimed and exercised

by Great Britain in time of War. Placing herself at the head of the Baltic Powers, in union with the Courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, which made common Cause with her, she attempted to emancipate their Navies from any further submission to the British Flag. Lord North, unable to resent, or to oppose the policy of Catherine by open force, temporized, and waited for more propitious times. Portugal alone, amidst the general Hostility or Defection of Europe, ventured to manifest her amicable disposition; and had the generosity to refuse to join the Baltic Confederacy, or to accede to the Armed Neutrality of the Northern States.

The King at this period of his Reign, was far advanced in his forty-third year. Though he came into the world at the term of seven Months; a fact which is indisputable, as the late Duchess of Brunswic, his sister's birth, took place on the 11th of August, 1737; and that of His Majesty, on the 4th of June, 1738; yet nature had conferred on him a sound and vigorous frame of body. He was born in Norfolk House, St. James's Square, where Frederic, Prince of Wales, then resided; who had been peremptorily ordered

only a short time before, to quit St. James's Palace, by George the Second. I saw, not much more than a Year ago, the identical Bed in which the Princess of Wales was delivered, now removed to the Duke of Norfolk's seat of Worksop in the County of Nottingham; and it forcibly proves the rapid progress of domestic elegance and taste, within the last Eighty years. Except that the furniture is of green silk, the Bed has nothing splendid about it; and would hardly be esteemed fit for the accommodation of a person of ordinary condition in the present times. A course of systematic abstinence and exercise, had secured to George the Third the enjoyment of almost uninterrupted health, down to the time of which I speak. So little had he been incommoded by sickness, or by indisposition of any kind, from the period of his Accession till his memorable seizure in 1788, that scarcely was he ever compelled to absent himself on that account, from a Levee, a Council, or a Drawing-room, during eight and twenty years. One only exception to this Remark occurred in the Autumn of 1765, when he was attacked by a disorder that confined him for several weeks; relative to the nature and seat of which Malady,

though many conjectures and assertions have been hazarded, in conversation, and even in print, no satisfactory information has ever been given to the world.

In the King's countenance, a Physiognomist would have distinguished two principal characteristics; firmness, or as his enemies denominated it, obstinacy; tempered with benignity. The former expression was however indisputably more marked and prominent than the latter sentiment. He seemed to have a tendency to become corpulent, if he had not repressed it by systematic and unremitting temperance. On this subject I shall relate a fact, which was communicated to me by a friend, Sir John Macpherson, who received it from the great Earl of Mansfield, to whom the King himself mentioned it; forcibly demonstrating that strength of mind, renunciation of all excess, and dominion over his appetites, which have characterized George the Third at every period of his life. Conversing with William, Duke of Cumberland, his uncle, not long before that Prince's death in 1764, His Majesty observed that it was with concern he remarked the Duke's augmenting corpulency. "I lament it not less, Sir," replied he, "but

"it is constitutional; and I am much mis-
"taken if Your Majesty will not become as
"large as myself, before you attain to my
"age." "It arises from your not using suffi-
"cient exercise," answered the King. "I
"use, nevertheless," said the Duke, "con-
"stant and severe exercise of every kind.
"But there is another effort requisite, in
"order to repress this tendency, which is
"much more difficult to practise; and without
"which, no exercise, however violent, will
"suffice. I mean, great renunciation and tem-
"perance. Nothing else can prevent Your
"Majesty from growing to my size." The King made little reply; but the Duke's words sunk deep, and produced a lasting impression on his mind. From that day he formed the resolution, as he assured Lord Mansfield, of checking his constitutional inclination to corpulency, by unremitting restraint upon his appetite: a determination which he carried into complete effect, in defiance of every temptation.

Perhaps no Sovereign, of whom History, ancient or modern, makes mention in any age of the earth, has exceeded him in the practice of this virtue. It is a fact, that during many years of his life, after coming up from Kew, or from

Windsor, often on horseback, and sometimes in heavy rain, to the Queen's House; he has gone in a Chair to St. James's, dressed himself, held a Levee, passed through all the forms of that long and tedious ceremony, for such it was in the way that he performed it; without leaving any individual in the Circle, unnoticed: and has afterwards assisted at a Privy Council, or given Audience to his Cabinet Ministers and others, till five, and even sometimes till six o'clock. After so much fatigue of body and of mind, the only refreshment or sustenance that he usually took, consisted in a few slices of bread and butter and a dish of tea, which he sometimes swallowed as he walked up and down, previous to getting into his Carriage, in order to return into the country. His understanding, solid and sedate, qualified him admirably for business, though it was neither of a brilliant, lively, nor imposing description. But his manner did injustice to the endowments of his intellect: and unfortunately, it was in public that these minute personal defects or imperfections became most conspicuous. Dr. Johnson, indeed, thought otherwise on the Subject: for, after the conversation with which His Majesty was pleased to honor that great literary character, in the Li-

brary at the Queen's House, in February, 1767, he passed the highest Encomiums on the elegant manners of the Sovereign. Boswell, in Johnson's Life, speaking of this Circumstance, adds, " He said to Mr. Barnard, the " Librarian, ' Sir, they may talk of the King " as they will, but he is the finest Gentleman " I have ever seen.' And he afterwards ob- " served to Mr. Langton, ' Sir, his manners " are those of as fine a Gentleman, as we may " suppose Louis the Fourteenth, or Charles " the Second.' "

Independant of the effect necessarily produced on Johnson's mind, by so unexpected and flattering a mark of royal condescension, which may well be imagined to have operated most favourably on the opinions of the Moralist; he was perhaps of all men, the least capable of estimating personal elegance of deportment. His vast intellectual powers lay in another line of discrimination. Had Johnson been now living, he might indeed witness the finest model of grace, dignity, ease, and affability, which the world has ever beheld, united in the same person. In *him* are really blended the majesty of Louis the Fourteenth, with the amenity of Charles the Second. But

George the Third was altogether destitute of these ornamental and adventitious endowments. The oscillations of his body, the precipitation of his questions, none of which, it was said, would wait for an answer; and the hurry of his articulation, afforded on the contrary, to little minds, or to malicious observers, who only saw him at a Drawing room, occasion for calling in question the soundness of his judgment, or the strength of his faculties. None of his Ministers, however, and Mr. Fox, if possible, less than any other, entertained such an opinion. His whole Reign forms indeed, the best answer to the imputation. That he committed many errors, nourished many prejudices, formed many erroneous estimates, and frequently adhered too pertinaciously to his Determinations, where he conceived, perhaps falsely, that they were founded in reason, or in justice; — all these Allegations may be admitted. Nor can the injurious effects to himself, and to his people, necessarily flowing in various instances, from such defects of Character and of Administration, be altogether denied. But these Infirmities, from which no man is exempt, cannot impugn his right to the affectionate veneration of posterity, for the

inflexible uprightness of his public conduct. And as little can they deprive him of the suffrages of the wise and good of every Age, who will bear testimony to the expansion of his mind, and the invariable rectitude of his intentions.

It would, indeed, be difficult for History to produce an instance of any Prince who has united and displayed on the Throne, during near half a Century, so many personal and private virtues. In the flower of youth, unmarried, endowed with a vigorous constitution, and surrounded with temptations to pleasure or indulgence of every kind, when he succeeded to the Crown, he never yielded to these seductions. Not less affectionately attached to the Queen, than Charles the First was to his Consort Henrietta Maria, he remained nevertheless altogether exempt from the uxoriousness which characterized his unfortunate predecessor, and which operated so fatally in the course of his Reign.

Wilkes, in the papers of the "North Briton," and "Junius" always affected, by drawing comparisons between the two Kings, to demonstrate the moral resemblance that existed

between them: but, the pretended similarity was only external, in matters of mere deportment, not of solid character. It must be apparent to every impartial man, who studies their respective reigns and line of political action, how superior was George the Third to Charles, on the three great points that constitute the essential difference between men. The first of these qualities was *Firmness of Mind.* To his weakness, not even to give it a severer Epithet, in abandoning Lord Strafford to the rage of his enemies, we may trace all the misfortunes that accompanied Charles from that Time to the close of life; misfortunes aggravated by the reproaches of his own conscience, for delivering up his Minister a victim to popular violence. His present Majesty neither deserted Lord Bute, when most unpopular, in 1763; nor the Duke of Grafton, amidst the Tumults of March, 1769; nor Lord North in the more awful Riots of June, 1780. As little did he turn his back on Lord George Germain, after the defeats of Saratoga, or of York Town, amidst the disasters of the American war. Far from recurring for support to his Ministers, he constantly extended it to them; and never shrunk from personal risk, responsibility, or odium. His

conduct on the memorable seventh of June, 1780, both at the Council Table, and during the course of that calamitous night which followed, will best exemplify the assertion. Charles, though personally brave in the field, and perfectly composed on the Scaffold, was deficient in political courage, steadiness of temper, and tenacity of determination. These qualities, formed the distinguishing characteristics of George the Third, who seems, when assailed by misfortunes, to have taken as his Motto, the sentiment of the Roman Poet:

"Tu ne cede Malis; sed contra, audentior ito."

Nor does the balance incline less in his favour, when compared with his predecessor of the Stuart line, on the article of *Judgment*. If any act of His present Majesty's Reign or Government, may seem to bear an analogy to the intemperate, vindictive, and pernicious attempt of Charles, to sieze on the five Members of the House of Commons; it was the order issued by a *General Warrant*, to take Wilkes into custody. Nor shall I undertake the defence of that proceeding, which I have always considered as the least justifiable measure embraced since the King's acces-

sion to the Throne. But, when he authorized it, in April, 1763, he had not completed his twenty-fifth year. Charles the First was above forty, at the time of his committing the rash act in question. That George the Third, if he had ever been reduced to take up arms against his subjects, might, from the partialities of parental affection, have committed an error similar to that of Charles when he entrusted the command of his forces to Prince Rupert; I will even admit to be probable, reasoning from the campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1799. But, no man who has followed the whole chain of events from 1760 down to 1810, can hesitate in pronouncing, that under circumstances the most appalling to the human mind, demanding equal fortitude and intellectual resources, he has displayed a degree of ability that we would vainly seek in the Stuart King's unfortunate Administration, terminated by the Scaffold.

It is however in *moral Principle* and *good Faith*, that the superiority of the one Sovereign over the other, becomes most irresistible, and forces the completest conviction. "Charles the First," says *Junius*, "lived "and died a Hypocrite." However severe

we may esteem this sentence, we cannot contest that his insincerity formed a prominent feature of his character, and eminently conduced to his destruction. It was proved by a variety of facts, and it unquestionably deterred Cromwell, as well as others of the Republican leaders, from exhibiting or anticipating the conduct of Monk. Unable to trust his most solemn assurances, they found no security for themselves, except in bringing him to the Block. But, George the Third exhibited a model of unshaken fidelity to his engagements; even those most repugnant to his own feelings, and most contrary to his own judgment. I could adduce many proofs of the fact. How magnanimous was his reception and treatment of Adams, in 1783; a man personally obnoxious; when presented to him at his Levee, as Envoy from the American States! In terms the most conciliating, yet nobly frank, he avowed to that Minister, with what reluctance he had consented to the separation of the Trans-Atlantic British Colonies from his Dominion; "But," added he, "their "Independance being now consummated, I "shall be the last man in my Kingdom to "encourage its violation."

He acted in a similar manner, when the Preliminaries of Peace were signed in 1801, with France. No Measure of State in the Power of Ministers to adopt, could have been, under the existing circumstances, less consonant to his ideas of safety, policy, and wisdom: a fact of which the Cabinet was so perfectly aware, that Lord Hawkesbury affixed his signature to the Articles, not only without the King's consent or approbation, but without his knowledge. It took place, as is well known, on the first of October, just as he was about to return from Weymouth to Windsor. The Cabinet instantly sent off a Messenger, with the intelligence, who met the King at Andover; and the Pacquet was brought to him as he stood in the Drawing Room of the Inn, engaged in conversation with the late Earl of Cardigan, and two other Noblemen. His Majesty, wholly unsuspicious of the fact, and not expecting to receive any news of importance, ordered them not to leave the Apartment, as they were preparing to do, in order that he might have time to peruse the Dispatch. But, on inspecting its contents, he betrayed so much surprize, both in his looks and gesture, that they were again about to quit his presence.

The King then addressed them, and holding the Letter open in his hand, "I have received "surprizing news," said he, "but it is no "secret. Preliminaries of Peace are signed "with France. I knew nothing of it what-"ever; but since it is made, I sincerely wish "it may prove a lasting Peace."

Louis the Twelfth, King of France, surnamed in History, "the Father of his people," is said to have observed, that "if good faith were banished from among men, it should be found in the bosoms of Princes." This sublime maxim or sentiment, seems to have been inherent in the intellectual formation of George the Third. His Coronation Oath was ever present to his mind; and he dreaded the slightest infraction of that solemn Compact made with his people, to which the Deity had been invoked as a party, far more than the loss of his Crown or life. When Mr. Pitt, sustained by four of the Cabinet Ministers, made the experiment of forcing him to violate it, on the 29th of January, 1801, relative to the Question of "Catholic Emancipation in Ireland;" they instantly found themselves out of Office. They unquestionably did not intend to resign: but, having compelled the

King no less than four times, in the course of a few years, to give way, where the Majority of his Cabinet differed from him; they erroneously assumed, that he would act in the same manner, where his Conscience was concerned. Sustained however by his principles, he did not hesitate a moment in accepting their Resignation, though he accompanied the Acceptance with the most flattering testimonies under his Hand, of esteem and personal attachment. Uninstructed by such a warning, Lord Grenville, who had been one of the five Cabinet Members alluded to above, aided by Lord Grey, repeated the Attempt six years later, after Fox's decease, with similar success. Charles the First did not manifest the same religious respect for the sanctity of his Oaths and Engagements. If his enemies in Parliament, and in the Field, could have reposed the unlimited confidence in him, which George the Third challenged from his Opponents, that unhappy Prince might have died in his Bed at Whitehall.

I will subjoin only one Anecdote more, on a point so interesting, which vitally characterizes the present King. Towards the end

of the month of January, 1805, at a time when he was much occupied in preparations for the Installation of the Knights of the *Garter*, destined to take place on the approaching Twenty-third of April; and while conversing on the subject with some persons of high rank, at Windsor; one of them, a Nobleman deservedly distinguished by his favour, said, "Sir, are not the new Knights, now meant "to be installed, obliged to take the Sacrament "before the ceremony?" Nothing could assuredly have been further from his idea or intention, than to have asked the Question, in a manner capable of implying any levity or irreverence. Nevertheless, His Majesty instantly changed countenance; and assuming a severe look, after a moment or two of pause, "No," replied he, "that religious Institution "is not to be mixed with our profane cere-"monies. Even at the time of my Coro-"nation, I was very unwilling to take the "Sacrament. But, when they told me that it "was indispensable, and that I must receive "it; before I approached the Communion "Table, I took off the Bauble from my head. "The Sacrament, my Lord, is not to be pro-"faned by our Gothic institutions." — The severity of the King's manner while he pro-

nounced these words, impressed all present, and suspended for a short time, the conversation. Never was any Prince more religiously tenacious of his Engagements or Promises. Even the temporary privation of his intellect, did not affect his regard to the Assurances that he had given previous to such alienation of mind; nor, which is still more wonderful, obliterate them from his Recollection. I know, that on his Recovery from the severest Visitations under which he has laboured, he has said to his Minister, in the first moments of his Convalescence; "Previous to my "attack of Illness, I made such and such "Promises; they must be effectuated." How deep a sense of honour, and how strong a moral principle must have animated such a Prince!

The education of George the Third had not been conducted or superintended in many respects, with as much care, as his birth, and the great prospects to which he was heir, should seem to have claimed from his Predecessor. He was only between twelve and thirteen years of age, when he lost his father; and the late King did not extend any very enlightened or affectionate attention to that

important national object. Even his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, appears to have been deeply sensible to the inefficiency of the various Preceptors successively employed about her son. Other charges, of a still more serious nature, were preferred against some of the individuals entrusted with the formation of his Principles, or who had constant access to him; as if they endeavoured to imbue him with arbitrary notions, and to put into his hands Authors known to have inculcated tyrannical Maxims of Government. These accusations, destitute of proof, and denied in the most peremptory manner at the time when they were made in 1752 or 1753, by the Princess Dowager, rest on no solid Foundations. If we wish to contemplate a portrait of the young Prince of Wales at seventeen years of age, drawn by his own mother in August, 1755, and communicated confidentially to a friend, we have it in Dodington's "Diary." She said, that "he "was shy and backward; not a wild, dis- "sipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, "with a serious cast upon the whole: that "those about him, knew him no more than if "they had never seen him. That he was not "quick; but, with those he was acquainted,

" applicable and intelligent. His education " had given her much pain. His book-learning " she was no judge of, though she supposed it " small or useless: but she hoped he might " have been instructed in the general under- " standing of things." It is impossible to doubt the accuracy and fidelity of this Picture, many features of which, continued indelible throughout his whole Reign.

In modern History he was tolerably well instructed; particularly in the Annals of England and of France, as well as of Germany: but in classical knowledge, and all the compositions of Antiquity, either of Greece or of Rome, historical, as well as poetic, he was little conversant. So slight or imperfect was his acquaintance with Latin, that at Forty, it may be doubted if he could have construed a page of Cicero, or of Ovid. He never delighted indeed in those branches of study, nor ever passed much of his time in sedentary occupations, calculated to improve his mind, after his Accession to the Crown. A newspaper, which he commonly took up after dinner, and over which, however interesting its contents might be, he usually fell asleep in less than half an hour, constituted

the ordinary extent of his application. Nor ought we to wonder at this circumstance, if we consider how numerous were his Avocations; and how little leisure the necessary perusal of public Papers, Dispatches, and Letters, could have left him for literary Research. If, however, he did not possess a very cultivated understanding, he might nevertheless be justly considered as not deficient in Accomplishments befitting his high station. He conversed with almost equal fluency, as all those who frequented the Levee or the Drawing-Room, could attest, in the English, French, and German languages; nor was he ignorant of Italian. He wrote with brevity, perspicuity, and facility. I have had opportunities to see or hear various of his confidential Notes, addressed, during the Period of the American War, to a Nobleman high in Office, some of which were written under very delicate circumstances. In all of them, good sense, firmness, principle, consistency, and self-possession, were strongly marked through every line. In Mechanics of all kinds, he delighted and indulged himself; a relaxation which seems, somewhat unjustly, to have excited much animadversion, and still more ridicule. But it cannot be denied, that dur-

ing this period of his Reign, and down to a later stage of it, the English people, — for I will not say the Scotch, — viewed all the failings of their Sovereign with a microscopic eye, while they did injustice to his numerous excellencies. They have, however, made him full amends since 1783, for their preceding severity.

For Painting and Architecture he shewed a taste, the more admired, as his two immediate predecessors on the Throne, altogether destitute of such a quality, extended neither favor nor protection to Polite Letters. Since Charles the First, no Prince had expended such sums in the purchase of productions of Art, or so liberally patronized Artists of every kind. Music always constituted one of his favorite recreations; and towards this time of his life he began to take a pleasure in hunting, for which diversion he had not manifested in his youth so much partiality. But, another occupation or passion, which, from its beneficial tendency and results, as well as from the tranquil enjoyments annexed to it, might seem peculiarly analagous to his character and disposition, employed much of his thoughts, and no inconsiderable portion of his

leisure. I mean Farming, and Agricultural pursuits. He may be said to have shewn the way, and to have set the example, which has since been imitated by the late Duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, Lord Somerville, Sir John Sinclair, and so many other distinguished persons. Even this inclination, however beneficial and laudable, in all its results, yet exposed him to satirical reflexions, which malignity or party spirit embodied in the form of caricatures.

Satisfied with the legitimate Power entrusted to him by the British Constitution, and deeply impressed with the sanctity as well as inviolability of the Oath administered to him at his Coronation; George the Third did not desire to pass the limits of his rightful Prerogative. But, equally tenacious of his just pretensions, and firm in resisting popular violence or innovation, he never receded from any point, or abandoned any measure, under the impulse of personal apprehension. His courage was calm, temperate, and steady. It was constitutional and hereditary; but it was always sustained by conviction, sense of public duty, and Religion. These sentiments inspired, accompanied, and upheld him, in the

most distressing moments of his Reign. Though he had not, like George the First, commanded Armies, and made Campaigns, in Hungary, or on the Rhine; nor had he proved his valor in the field, like George the Second, who fought at Oudenarde in his youth, and at Dettingen in his age; yet he possessed no less bravery than his Ancestors: while he joined to personal steadiness, a quality still more rare, political resolution. After the attempt made to assassinate him in 1787, by Margaret Nicholson; an attempt which only failed from the knife being worn so thin about the middle of the blade, that it bent with the resistance of the King's waistcoat, instead of entering his body, as it would otherwise have done; he immediately held his Levee, with the most perfect composure. No person who was present on that day at St. James's, could have supposed that he had just escaped from so imminent a danger.

In November, 1795, when the Pebble was thrown or discharged into the Coach, in which he was proceeding to Westminster, to open the Session of Parliament; while surrounded by a most ferocious mob,

who manifested a truly Jacobinical spirit, he exhibited a calmness and self possession, prepared for every event. Few of his subjects would have shewn the presence of mind, and attention to every thing except himself, which pervaded his whole conduct, on the evening of the 15th of May, 1800, at the time that Hadfield discharged a Pistol over his head, in the Theatre, loaded with two Slugs. His whole anxiety was directed towards the Queen, who not having entered the Box, might, he apprehended, on hearing of the event, be overcome by her surprize or emotions. The Dramatic piece which was about to be represented, commenced in a short space of time, precisely as if no accident had interrupted its performance; and so little were his nerves shaken, or his internal tranquillity disturbed by it, that he took his accustomed doze of three or four minutes, between the conclusion of the Play, and the commencement of the Farce, precisely as he would have done on any other night. This circumstance, which so strongly indicated his serenity, did not escape the notice of his Attendants.

He received during the course of his Reign,

innumerable anonymous letters, threatening his life, all which he treated with uniform indifference. A Nobleman, who is now no more, and who during many years was frequently about his person, as well as much in his confidence; assured me that he had seen several of them, which His Majesty shewed him, particularly when at Weymouth. While residing there during successive seasons, he was warned in the ambiguous manner already mentioned, not to ride out on particular days, on certain roads, if he valued his safety: but the King never failed to mount his Horse, and to take the very road indicated in the letter. Speaking on the subject to that Nobleman, he said, "I very well know that any man who "chooses to sacrifice his own life, may, when-"ever he pleases, take away mine; riding "out, as I do continually, with a single "Equerry and a Footman. I only hope "that whoever may attempt it, will not do it "in a barbarous or brutal manner." When we reflect on his conduct under these circumstances, as well as during the Tumults of March, 1769, and the Riots of June, 1780;—and if we contrast it with the weak or pusillanimous deportment of Louis the Sixteenth, in July, 1789, when the French Monarchy

was virtually overturned; in October of the same year, at the time of his being carried Prisoner from Versailles to Paris; or, on the 10th of August, 1792, when he abandoned the Tuilleries, to seek refuge in the National Assembly; — we shall perceive the leading cause of the Preservation of England, and of the Destruction of France. To George the Third, considered in his Kingly capacity, might well be applied the assertion,

—— " Tis the last Key stone
" That makes the Arch." ——

He seemed as if raised up by Providence, in its bounty to mankind, like an impregnable mound, to arrest the fury of Revolution and Jacobinism. How can we wonder that such a Prince should prefer Pitt, notwithstanding the inflexibilities of his character, and the intractability of his natural disposition, for First Minister; rather than Fox, who was the Eulogist of Washington, of Laurens, of La Fayette, of Condorcet, and all the Saints or Martyrs of French and American insurrection!

That George the Third did not display those great energies of mind, those arts of

condescending popularity, and that assemblage of extraordinary endowments, which met in Elizabeth; and which rendered her at once the terror of Europe, and the Idol of her own subjects, must be admitted. That he could not, like Charles the Second, balance the errors or the vices of his Government, by the seduction of his manners; and induce his people, like that Prince, to love his person, though they condemned his conduct; we shall as readily confess. That he had not the advantage of being brought up amidst privations and mortifications of every kind, like William the Third; nor was, like William, compelled, at his first entrance on public life, to extricate his country by Arms, from a powerful foreign invader:—that he did not nourish the profound ambition, or develope the deep policy and active military spirit of that illustrious Sovereign; cannot be disputed. But, if he was less distinguished by Talents than William, he exhibited greater virtues. He resembled, indeed, in the leading features of his character, more the Antonines, than Trajan or Augustus; and excited greater respect, than he awakened admiration. But, Ages may probably elapse, before we shall again behold on the Throne a Prince more

qualified on the whole to dispense happiness, and more justly an object of universal affection, blended with esteem.

If we compare him, as it is natural to do, either in his public capacity, or in his private conduct, with his two immediate predecessors, who may nevertheless justly be considered, on a fair review of their characters, as amiable and excellent Sovereigns; the comparison is highly flattering to George the Third. He possessed indeed some advantages not enjoyed by either of those Princes. His birth, which took place in this island, and that complete assimilation with the people of England, which can only result from the joint effect of habits, language, and education, gave him a superiority over them, and placed him upon higher ground. The two preceding Kings were Foreigners, who acceded, or were called to the Throne, at an advanced period of life. George the First had attained his fifty-third, and George the Second his forty-fourth year, at their respective accession. They naturally and necessarily considered Hanover as their native country, though fortune had transported them to another soil. Even their policy, their treaties, their wars, and all their mea-

sures, were warped by foreign predilections. to which they sacrificed the interests of Great Britain. From these prejudices, the King, who had never visited his Electoral dominions, nor knew Germany except by description, was exempt in a great degree. Less impetuous and irrascible than his grandfather, he possessed likewise a more capacious mind, more command of temper, and better talents for government. In moderation, judgment, and vigour of intellect, he at least equalled George the First: while in every other quality of the heart, or of the understanding, he exceeded that monarch. In his private life as a husband, a father, and a man, he was superior to either. The conduct of George the First in these relations, will not, indeed, bear a severe inspection. His treatment of the unfortunate Sophia of Zell, his wife, whom he immured during the greater part of her life, in a solitary Hanoverian Castle, cannot be easily reconciled to the feelings of justice, or even of humanity. As little did he consult decorum, or public opinion and morals, in bringing over with him from Hanover to this country, his two German Mistresses, Sophia, Baroness Kilmanseck, and Melesina, Princess of Eberstein, whom he respectively created, the

one, Countess of Darlington, and the other, Duchess of Kendal. We may see in Mr. Walpole's "Reminiscences," how openly they were received here in that character. Charles the Second could not have observed less secrecy, with respect to Lady Castlemaine, or the Duchess of Portsmouth; nor have manifested less scruple about raising them to the dignity of the British peerage. Even at sixty-seven years of age, George the First, it appears, was about to have formed a new connection of the same nature, with Miss Brett, when he was carried off by an apoplectic stroke.

His Son and successor displayed indeed the utmost affection for his Queen, with whom he not only lived on terms of conjugal union, but, whose loss he deplored with tears, and cherished the warmest respect for her memory. Yet he did not on that account, restrain his inclinations for other women. Mrs. Howard, who became afterwards Countess of Suffolk; and Madame de Walmoden, better known as Countess of Yarmouth; the one previous, and the other subsequent to Queen Caroline's decease; were both avowedly distinguished by the strongest marks of royal favour. The latter is accused by popular report,

of having made on more than one occasion, a most unjustifiable use, or rather abuse, of her interest with the King. Even Peerages were said to be sold and distributed for her pecuniary benefit: a charge that has been revived from the Treasury Bench, in our time. George the Third exhibited a model of self-command and of continence, at twenty-two, than which antiquity, Greek or Roman, can produce nothing more admirable, in the persons of Alexander or of Scipio. It is well known that before his marriage he distinguished by his partiality Lady Sarah Lenox, then one of the most beautiful young women of high rank in the kingdom. Edward the Fourth, or Henry the Eighth, in his situation, regardless of consequences, would have married her, and placed her on the Throne. Charles the Second, more licentious, would have endeavoured to seduce her. But, the King, who, though he admired her, neither desired to make her his wife nor his mistress, subdued his passion by the strength of his reason, his principles, and his sense of public duty. When we reflect on these circumstances, we may say with Horace, addressing ourselves to the British Nation,

"Quando ullum inveniet Parem?"

After having thus faithfully pourtrayed, though in the seeming language of panegyric, the Character of George the Third, it is impossible, nevertheless, without violating truth to deny, that at this time, far from being popular, he was not even an object of general affection. We may justly question whether Charles the Second, though one of the most unprincipled, profligate, and licentious Sovereigns who ever reigned in this country; destitute of morals; sunk in dissolute pleasures; who tamely beheld his fleet burned by the Dutch, in his own harbours; a pensioner of France; insensible to national glory; and regardless of the subjection of the Continent to Louis the Fourteenth; — yet was ever so unpopular at any period of his reign. In order to explain this seeming Paradox, and to shew how a Prince, who, apparently, from his many private virtues, should have possessed the attachment of his subjects; was nevertheless considered by a very large proportion of them, with contrary sentiments; we must review the principal features of his Government. That retrospect will fully account for the circumstance, while it elucidates the events which followed the commencement of the year 1781.

To the confined plan of education, and sequestered mode of life which the King led, subsequent to the death of his father, before his own accession to the Crown, may be justly traced and attributed, at least in part, many of the errors, as well as the misfortunes, that mark the portion of the British Annals, from 1760 down to the close of the American War. During near ten years which elapsed between the death of his father, early in 1751, and the decease of his grandfather; a period when the human mind is susceptible of such deep impressions; he remained in a state of almost absolute seclusion from his future people, and from the world. Constantly resident at Leicester House, or at Carlton House, when he was in London; immured at Kew, whenever he went to the country; perpetually under the eye of his Mother and of Lord Bute, who acted in the closest unity of design; he saw comparatively few other persons: and those, only chosen individuals of both sexes. They naturally obtained, and long preserved, a very firm Ascendant over him. When he ascended the Throne, though already arrived at manhood, his very person was hardly known, and his character was still less understood, beyond a narrow Circle. Precautions, it is well ascer-

tained, were even adopted by the Princess Dowager, to preclude as much as possible, access to him: precautions which, to the extent of her ability, were redoubled after he became King. It will scarcely be believed, but it is nevertheless true, that, in order to prevent his conversing with any persons, or receiving any written intimations, anonymous or otherwise, between the Drawing Room and the Door of Carlton House, when he was returning from thence to St. James's, or to Buckingham House, after his evening visits to his mother, she never failed to accompany him till he got into his Sedan chair. "*Junius*," in May, 1770, after invidiously comparing Edward the Second and Richard the Second, two of the weakest Princes who ever reigned in this Country, with George the Third; adds, when summing up the leading features of his character, "Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons, and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connections, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort, is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understanding, and finally

" conducts the Monarch and the Martyr " to the Block."

A Prince who had been endowed by nature with great energies of mind, would, no doubt, have soon liberated himself from such fetters. Yet we may remember that Louis the Fourteenth, who surely must be considered as a Sovereign of very superior intellectual Attainments; remained under the tutelage of his Mother and his Minister, of Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, till even a later period of life than twenty-two. Nor did he then emancipate himself. It was Death, that by carrying off the Cardinal, allowed the King to display those qualities, which have rendered so celebrated his name and reign. A Prince, on the other hand, of a gay, social, dissipated, or convivial turn, would equally have burst through these impediments. But, Pleasure of every kind, in the common acceptation of the term, as meaning Dissipation, presented scarcely any attractions for him, even previous to his marriage. Stories were indeed generally circulated, of his attachment to a young woman, a Quaker, about this time of his life; just as Scandal, many years afterwards, whispered that he distin-

guished Lady Bridget Tollemache by his particular attentions. The former report was probably well founded; and the latter Assertion was unquestionably true: but those persons who have enjoyed most opportunities of studying the King's character, will most incline to believe, that in neither instance did he pass the limits of innocent Gallantry, or occasional familiarity. As little was he to be seduced by the gratifications of the table, of wine, or of festivity. To all these allurements he seemed disinclined from natural constitution, moral, and physical. His brother Edward, Duke of York, plunged on the contrary very early, into every sort of excess. But the example, however calculated to operate it might seem, produced no effect on a Prince, modest, reserved, continent, capable of great self-command, and seeking almost all his amusements within a narrow domestic circle.

Before he succeeded to the Crown, Lord Bute constituted in fact almost his only constant companion and confident. To him alone the Heir Apparent unbosomed his thoughts: with him the Prince rode, walked, read, and conversed. They were on horseback together, upon the 25th of October, 1760, not far from

Kew, when the intelligence of George the Second's sudden death reached him; confirmed immediately afterwards by Mr. Pitt in person, who then presided at the head of His Majesty's Counsels, or formed at least the Soul of the Cabinet. On receiving the information, they returned to the Palace, where the new King remained during the whole day, and passed that night, not coming up to St. James's till the ensuing morning. Mr. Pitt having presented him a Paper, containing a few sentences, which he suggested, it might be proper to pronounce on meeting the Privy Council; the King, after thanking him, replied, that he had already considered the subject, and had drawn up his intended Address, to be delivered at the Council Table. The Minister, who perceived that Lord Bute had anticipated him, made the unavoidable inference. It was indeed sufficiently obvious, that however his Administration might nominally continue for some time, yet his influence and authority were eclipsed or superceded.

Lord Bute, though in his private character, if not irreproachable in all respects, yet at least decorous and correct; nor by any means deficient in abilities; appears to have been ne-

vertheless a very unfit Governor for such a Prince. There exists even no doubt that George the Second opposed and disapproved his Appointment to that important Office; but the partiality and perseverance of the Princess Dowager, prevailed over the old King's repugnance. The circumstance of Lord Bute's being a native of Scotland, exposed him necessarily to malevolent attacks of many kinds; a fact at which, we who live in the present Century, ought not to wonder, when we reflect how few years had then elapsed since the Rebellion of 1745. Wilkes and Churchill, the one in prose, the other in poetry, always levelled their keenest shafts against the Mother and the Minister of the young Sovereign. His very virtues became matter of reproach, of ridicule, or of Satire. "Junius," some years later, improving upon these first Attempts to degrade him in the estimation of his subjects, condensed all the powers of Declamation in his memorable "Letter to the King." Yet, the Nation at large, candid and just, appreciated him fairly on his own merits. During the most gloomy periods of his Reign, while they lamented or reprobated the Measures of his various Administrations, from Lord Bute down to Lord North, with

little variation or exception; yet admitted his personal virtues to form no slender extenuation of his public errors or demerits. His exemplary discharge of every private Duty, balanced in their estimate, the misfortunes which his pertinacity, inflexibility, or injudicious selection of his confidential servants, had entailed upon the Country, and upon the Empire.

It is well known that George the Second and his son, Frederic, Prince of Wales, during several years previous to the Decease of the latter, lived on terms of complete alienation, or rather of hostility. Scarcely, indeed, were any measures observed, or was any veil drawn, before their mutual recriminations. The Prince expired suddenly, in the beginning of 1751, at Leicester House, in the arms of Desnoyèrs, the celebrated Dancing-Master; who being near his bed side, engaged in playing on the Violin for His Royal Highness's amusement, supported him in his last moments. His end was ultimately caused by an internal Abscess, that had long been forming, in consequence of a blow which he received in the side from a Cricket Ball, while he was engaged in playing at that game, on the lawn at Cliefden House in Buckinghamshire,

where he then principally resided. It did not take place, however, for several Months subsequent to the accident. A collection of matter having been produced, which burst in his throat, the discharge instantly suffocated him. The King, his father, though he never went once to visit him during the whole progress of his illness, sent however constantly to make enquiries; and received accounts every two hours, of his state and condition. But he was so far from desiring Frederic's recovery, that on the contrary, he considered such an event, if it should take place, as an object of the utmost regret. He did not even conceal his sentiments on the point: for, I know from good authority, that the King being one day engaged in conversation with the Countess of Yarmouth, when the Page entered, announcing that the Prince was better, "There now," said His Majesty, turning to her, "I told you that he would not die." On the evening of his Decease, the 20th of March, George the Second had repaired, according to his usual custom, to Lady Yarmouth's Apartments, situated on the ground floor in St. James's Palace, where a party of persons of distinction of both sexes, generally assembled for the purpose. His Majesty had just sat

down to Play, and was engaged at Cards, when a Page, dispatched from Leicester House, arrived, bringing information that the Prince was no more. He received the intelligence without testifying either emotion or surprize. Then rising, he crossed the room to Lady Yarmouth's table, who was likewise occupied at Play; and leaning over her chair, said to her in a low tone of voice, in German, "Fritz is dode." Freddy is dead. Having communicated it to her, he instantly withdrew. She followed him, the company broke up, and the News became public. These particulars were related to me by the late Lord Sackville, who made one of Lady Yarmouth's party, and heard the King announce to her his son's Decease.

Frederic seems never to have enjoyed from his early youth, a distinguished place in the affection of his father, whose partiality was reserved for his youngest son, William, Duke of Cumberland. During the last twelve years of Frederic's life, we know that he passed much of his time in anticipations of his future Sovereignty, and in forming Administrations, which, like his own Reign, were destined never to be realized. Among the Noblemen and Gentle-

men who occupied a high place in his favour or friendship, were Charles, Duke of Queensberry, the patron of Gay, who died in 1778; Mr. Spencer, brother to the second Duke of Marlborough, and commonly called Jack Spencer; Charles, Earl of Middlesex, afterwards Duke of Dorset, and his brother Lord John Sackville, together with Francis, Earl of Guildford. The personal resemblance that existed between Lord North, (son of the last mentioned Peer, who was subsequently First Minister) and Prince George, was thought so striking, as to excite much remark and pleasantry on the Part of Frederic himself, who often jested on the subject with Lord Guildford; observing, that the world would think one of their wives had played her husband false, though it might be doubtful, which of them lay under the Imputation. Persons who may be disposed to refine upon the Prince's observation, will perhaps likewise be struck with other points of physical similarity between George the Third and Lord North; in particular with the loss of sight, a privation common to both in the decline of life. Lady Archibald Hamilton formed during many years, the object of Frederick's avowed and particular attachment. In order to be

near him, she resided in Pall-Mall, close to Carlton House; the Prince having allowed her to construct a Drawing-Room, the windows of which commanded over the Gardens of that Palace, and the House itself communicated with them. Towards men of Genius, His Royal Highness always affected to extend his protection. *Glover*, the Writer of "Leonidas," enjoyed his confidence; though we may justly doubt how much of it was given to him as a Member of Parliament, the Friend of Pulteney and Pitt; how much, as a Poet. The Prince shewed uncommon deference for *Pope*, whom he visited at Twickenham, a circumstance to which that Author alludes with natural pride, when, after enumerating the great or illustrious Persons who honored him with their regard and friendship, he subjoins,

"And if yet higher the proud List should end,
"Still let me add, no Follower, but a Friend."

In force of character, steadiness, vigor of mind, and the Qualities that fit Men for Government, even his Friends considered the Prince to be deficient. Nor was Economy among the virtues that he displayed; he having before his Decease contracted numer-

ous Debts to a large amount, which were never discharged. Even through the medium of Dodington's Description, who was partial to Frederick's Character and Memory, we cannot conceive any very elevated idea of him. His Court seems to have been the center of Cabal, torn by contending Candidates for the Guidance of his future imaginary Reign. The Earl of Egmont, and Dodington himself, were avowedly at the head of two great hostile Parties. In November, 1749, we find His Royal Highness, in a secret Conclave held at Carlton House, making all the financial Dispositions proper to be adopted on the Demise of the King, his Father; and framing a new Civil List. At the close of these mock Deliberations, he binds the three Assistants to abide by, and support his Plans; giving them his hand, and making them take hands with each other. The Transaction, as narrated by Dodington who was himself one of the Party, reminds the Reader of a similar Convocation commemorated by Sallust, and is not unlike one of the Scenes in "Venice Preserved." It was performed, however, after dinner, which may perhaps form its best Apology. The diversions of the Prince's Court appear to us equally puerile. Three times, within thirteen

Months preceding his Decease, Dodington accompanied him and the Princess of Wales, to Fortune-tellers; the last of which Frolicks took place scarcely nine Weeks before his Death. After one of these magical Consultations, apparently dictated by anxiety to penetrate his future destiny, the Party supped with Mrs. Cannon, the Princess's Midwife. Frederic used to go, disguised, to Hockley-in-the-Hole, to witness Bull-baiting. Either Lord Middlesex, or Lord John Sackville, Father to the late Duke of Dorset, were commonly his Companions on such Expeditions. As far as we are authorized from these Premises, to form a Conclusion, his premature Death before he ascended the Throne, ought not to excite any great national Regret.

George the Second, who survived the Prince near ten years, died at last not less suddenly than his Son, though at the advanced age of Seventy-seven; a period attained by no Sovereign in modern History, except Louis the Fourteenth. A rupture in some of the vessels, or in the Membrane of the Heart, carried him off in a few minutes. During his whole life, but particularly for a number of years before his decease, he had

been subject to such constant palpitations about the region of the Heart, especially after Dinner, that he always took off his cloaths, and reposed himself for an hour in bed, of an afternoon. In order to accommodate himself to this habit or infirmity, Mr. Pitt, when, as Secretary of State, he was sometimes necessitated to transact Business with the King during the time that he lay down, always knelt on a cushion by the bedside; a mark of respect which contributed to render him not a little acceptable to His Majesty. At his rising, George the Second dressed himself completely a second time, and commonly passed the evening at Cards, with Lady Yarmouth, in a select party. His sight had greatly failed him, for some time preceding his Decease. I have heard Mr. Fraser say, who was, during many years, Under Secretary of State, that in 1760, a few months before the King died, having occasion to present a Paper to him for his signature, at Kensington, George the Second took the pen in his hand; and having as he conceived, affixed his name to it, returned it to Fraser. But, so defective was his vision, that he had neither dipped his pen in the ink, nor did he perceive that of course he had only drawn it over the Pa-

per, without making any impression. Fraser, aware of the King's blindness, yet, unwilling to let His Majesty perceive that he discovered it, said, "Sir, I have given you so bad a "pen, that it will not write. Allow me to pre- "sent you a better for the Purpose." Then dipping it himself in the ink, he returned it to the King, who, without making any remark, instantly signed the Paper.

He was unquestionably an honest, well-intentioned, and good Prince; of very moderate, but not mean talents; frugal in his expences, from natural character; more inclined to Avarice than any King of England since Henry the Seventh; irascible and hasty, but not vindictive in his temper. Imbued with a strong enmity to France, and as warm a predilection for Germany, he never enjoyed such felicity as when at Herenhausen, surrounded with his Hanoverian Courtiers and subjects. William the Third in like manner, seemed to taste much more happiness, while hunting at Loo in the sterile Sands of Guelderland, than at Whitehall, or at Hampton Court. At the Battle of Dettingen, in 1743, it is well known that George the Second's horse, which was unruly, ran away with him to a considerable

distance. General Cyrus Trapaud, then an Ensign, by seizing the horse's bridle, enabled His Majesty to dismount in safety. "Now "that I am once on my legs", said he, "I "am sure I shall not run away." Having enquired Trapaud's name, the King always distinguished him afterwards in military promotions. When incensed either with his Ministers, or with his Attendants, he was sometimes not Master of his Actions, nor attentive to preserve his dignity. On these occasions, his Hat, and it is asserted, even his Wig, became frequently the Objects on which he expended his anger. Queen Caroline, by her address, her judicious compliances, and her activity of character, maintained down to the time of her Decease in 1737, a great Ascendant over him. She formed the chief conducting wire between the Sovereign and his First Minister. It is a fact, that Sir Robert Walpole and Her Majesty managed Matters with so much Art, as to keep up a secret understanding by Watch-words, even in the Drawing Room, when and where George the Second was present. According to the King's temper, frame of mind, or practicability on the Points which Sir Robert wished to carry, the Queen signified to him

whether to proceed, or to desist, on that particular day. This communication was so well preconcerted, and so delicately executed, as to be imperceptible by the By-standers. Sir Robert lost a most able and vigilant Ally, when Queen Caroline died. Her decease was indeed a Misfortune to her husband, to her children, and to the Nation. She sacrificed her life to the desire of concealing her Complaint; a rupture of the Bowels, which might have been easily reduced, if she had not delayed the disclosure of it till a Mortification took place. We have not possessed since Elizabeth's death, a Queen of more Talent, Capacity, and Strength of Understanding, than Caroline of Brandenburgh Anspach. Mary, wife of William the Third, approached the nearest, but did not equal her in these Endowments.

At the time of his Decease, George the Second certainly enjoyed great and universal Popularity: but to Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, he was eminently indebted for this gratifying Distinction at the close of life, when Victory was said to have erected her Altar between his aged knees. The Misfortunes and Disgraces which preceded Pitt's entrance into Office, had in fact

forced him upon the King; who, notwithstanding that Minister's recognized Talents, did not employ him without the utmost reluctance. The inglorious Naval Engagement in the Mediterranean, between Byng and La Galissoniere, for which the former of those Admirals suffered; the consequent loss of Minorca; the defeat of Braddock in Carolina; the Repulse sustained before Ticonderago; the ignominious Capitulation of William, Duke of Cumberland, at Closter-Seven; and the disgraceful Expedition against Rochfort; — these ill-concerted, or ill-executed Measures, at the commencement of the War of 1756, had not only brought the Administration into contempt, but had much diminished the National Affection borne towards the Sovereign. From the period of Pitt's Nomination to a Place in the Cabinet, Success almost uniformly attended on the British Arms. Though only occupying the Post of Secretary of State, he directed, or rather he dictated the Operations, at Home and Abroad. The Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, all obeyed his Orders with prompt and implicit submission. Lord Anson and the Duke of Newcastle, sometimes, it is true, remonstrated, and often complained;

but always finished by Compliance. In the full Career of Pitt's ministerial Triumphs, George the Second died; an Event, which it is impossible not to consider as having been a great national Misfortune, when we reflect on the Peace which took place little more than two years afterwards, in November, 1762. Mr. Pitt, we may be assured, would have dictated far different terms to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon. The new King did not indeed immediately dismiss so able and popular a Statesman; but it was soon suspected that his Administration, though it might languish, or continue for a few Months, would not prove of long duration. Lord Bute had already secured the exclusive Regard and Favor of the young Monarch.

The late Mrs. Boscawen, widow of the Admiral of that Name, so distinguished in our Naval Annals, whose Connexions enabled her to collect many curious Facts in the course of a long life; has often assured me, that Lord Bute's first personal introduction to the Prince of Wales, originated in a very singular Accident. That Nobleman, as is well known, married the only daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague,

by whom he had a very numerous Family. She brought him eventually likewise a large landed Property: but, as her father, Mr. Wortley, did not die till the year 1761; and as her brother, the eccentric Edward Wortley Montague, lived to a much later period, I believe, down to 1777; Lord Bute, encumbered with a number of Children, found his patrimonial Fortune very unequal to maintain the figure befitting his rank in life. After passing some years in profound Retirement, on his estate in the Isle of Bute, he re-visited England, and took a house on the Banks of the Thames. During his residence there, he was induced to visit Egham Races, about the year 1747. But, as he either did not at that Time keep a Carriage, or did not use it to convey him to the Race Ground, he condescended to accompany a medical Acquaintance; in other words, the Apothecary that attended His Lordship's family, who carried him there in his own Chariot. Frederic, Prince of Wales, who then resided at Clieffden, honored the Races on that day with his presence; where a tent was pitched for his accommodation, and that of the Princess, his Consort. The weather proving rainy, it was proposed, in order to amuse his Royal High-

ness before his return home, to make a party at Cards: but a difficulty occurred about finding persons of sufficient rank to sit down at the same table with him. While they remained under this embarrassment, somebody observed that Lord Bute had been seen on the Race Ground; who, as being an Earl, would be peculiarly proper to make one of the Prince's party. He was soon found, informed of the Occasion which demanded his Attendance, brought to the Tent, and presented to Frederic. When the Company broke up, Lord Bute thought of returning back to his own House: but his Friend the Apothecary had disappeared; and with him had disappeared the Chariot in which his Lordship had been brought to Egham Races. The Prince was no sooner made acquainted with the Circumstance, than he insisted on Lord Bute's accompanying him to Cliefden, and there passing the night. He complied, rendered himself extremely acceptable to their Royal Highnesses, and thus laid the Foundation, under a succeeding Reign, of his political elevation, which flowed originally in some measure from this strange contingency.

Lord Bute, when young, possessed a very

handsome person, of which advantage he was not insensible; and he used to pass many hours every day, as his enemies asserted, occupied in contemplating the symmetry of his own legs, during his solitary walks by the side of the Thames. Even after he became an inmate at Cliefden, and at Leicester House, he frequently played the part of "Lothario," in the private Theatricals exhibited for the amusement of their Royal Highnesses, by the late Duchess of Queensberry; a fact to which Wilkes alludes with malignant pleasantry, in more than one of his publications. To these external accomplishments, he added a cultivated mind, illuminated by a taste for many branches of the Fine Arts and Letters. For the study of Botany he nourished a decided passion, which he gratified to the utmost; and in the indulgence of which predilection, he manifested on some occasions, a princely liberality. Of a disposition naturally retired and severe, he was not formed for an extensive commerce with mankind, or endowed by Nature with talents for managing popular assemblies. Even in his family he was austere, harsh, difficult of access, and sometimes totally inaccessible to his own children. In the House of Lords he neither displayed elo-

quence nor graciousness of manners. But he proved himself likewise deficient in a quality still more essential for a First Minister, firmness of character. Yet, with these political defects of mind, and of personal deportment, he undertook to displace, and he aspired to succeed Mr. Pitt, at a moment when that Minister had carried the glory of the British Arms to an unexampled height, by sea and land.

After an Administration of about two years, passed either in the Post of Secretary of State, or as First Lord of the Treasury; during which time he brought the war with France and Spain to a conclusion; Lord Bute abandoning his royal master, quitted his situation, and again withdrew to privacy. No testimonies of national regret, or of national esteem, accompanied him at his departure from Office. His magnificent residence in Berkley Square, exposed him to very malignant comments, respecting the means by which he had reared so expensive a pile. His enemies asserted that he could not possibly have possessed the ability, either from his patrimonial fortune, or in consequence of his marriage, to erect such a structure. As little could he be supposed to have amassed wherewithal, during his very

short Administration, to suffice for its construction. The only satisfactory solution of the difficulty therefore lay in imagining that he had either received presents from France, or had made large purchases in the public Funds, previous to the signature of the Preliminaries. "Junius," addressing the Duke of Bedford, who signed that Peace, in his Letter of the "19th September, 1769," written within seven years afterwards; charges the Duke, in the most unequivocal terms, with betraying and selling his country. "Your Patrons," says he, "wanted "an Embassador who would submit to make "concessions, without daring to insist upon "any honorable condition for his Sovereign. "Their business required a man, who had "as little feeling for his own dignity, as for "the welfare of his Country; and they found "him in the first Rank of the Nobility. "Belleisle, Goree, Gaudeloupe, St. Lucia, "Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havannah, "are glorious monuments of your Grace's "talents for Negociation. My Lord, we are "too well acquainted with your pecuniary "character, to think it possible that so many "public sacrifices should have been made, "without some private compensations. Your

" conduct carries with it an internal evidence, " beyond all the legal proofs of a Court of " Justice." No answer was ever made to this charge, either by the Duke, or by any of his Friends, if we except Sir William Draper's vague and unauthorized Letter of the " 7th of October, 1769."

Dr. Musgrave, an English Physician, who practised Medicine at Paris in 1763, and whose name has been known in the Republic of Letters, by the publication of some Tragedies of Euripides; did not scruple to assert publicly, that the Princess Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute received money from the French Court, for aiding to effect the Peace. I am acquainted with the individuals, Gentlemen of the highest honor and most unimpeached veracity, to whom Dr. Musgrave himself related the circumstance at Paris, in 1764, almost immediately after the Treaty of Fontainbleau. And if I do not name them, it is only because they are still alive. Dr. Musgrave did not retract his accusation, when he was examined at the Bar of the House of Commons, some years afterwards, in the Month of January, 1770, upon the same point. He maintained on the contrary,

his original assertion, which he supported by facts or circumstances calculated to authenticate its truth, though the House thought proper to declare it "Frivolous, and unworthy of "Credit." "Junius," writing in the Month of May, 1770, says, "Through the whole pro-"ceedings of the House of Commons in this "Session, there is an apparent, a palpable "consciousness of guilt, which has pre-"vented their daring to assert their own "dignity, where it has been immediately and "grossly attacked. In the course of Dr. "Musgrave's Examination, he said every "thing that can be conceived mortifying to "individuals, or offensive to the House. "They voted his information Frivolous, but "they were awed by his firmness and inte-"grity, and sunk under it." Dr. Musgrave resided in this country during the last years of his life; and died, I believe, at Exeter, in the Summer of the year 1780.

Similar reflexions indeed, at different periods of our History, have been thrown not only upon Ministers, but even upon Kings. Lord Clarendon, when Chancellor, under Charles the Second, having, like Lord Bute, undertaken to build a magnificent house in

London, soon after the sale of Dunkirk to Louis the Fourteenth, about 1664; it was named by the people "Dunkirk House," on the supposition of its having been raised by French money. No person can doubt of Charles the Second himself having received large sums from the Court of Versailles, for purposes inimical to the interests of his people. So did his successor, James the Second. Bribes were even confidently said and believed to have been given to various of the Courtiers or favourites of William the Third, from the East-India Company and other Corporate Bodies, in order to procure the consent or approbation of the Sovereign to the renewal of their Charters. The Duchess of Kendal, Mistress of George the First; as well as Craggs, father of the Secretary of State of the same name, and himself at the time, Post Master General; together with other individuals about the court or person of that Monarch, were either known or supposed to have been implicated in the transactions of the memorable South Sea Year, 1720, when such immense sums were gained and lost in that ruinous speculation. Malignity did not spare the King himself, who, it was asserted, became a sharer in the acqui-

sitions. Lord Bute, at the distance of half a Century, is still believed to have rendered the Treaty of Fontainbleau subservient to his private emolument: a supposition which was again renewed twenty years later, at the conclusion of the Peace of 1783, against Lord Shelburne, with greater virulence, and with bolder affirmations! Such were the unfortunate results of the Earl of Bute's Ministry, which must be considered as having given the first blow to the popularity, enjoyed by the King at his Accession to the Throne.

It is an indisputable fact, that Lord Bute, terrified or disgusted at the indications of resentment shewn by the nation, forsook his Master; and that he was not dismissed or abandoned by the Sovereign. He was the first, though not the last Minister, who in the course of the present reign, exhibited that example of timidity, or weariness, or desertion. But, his ostensible relinquishment of office, by no means restored to the King, the confidence or the affections of his subjects. Even when nominally divested of power, Lord Bute was still supposed to direct unseen, the wheels of Government. However false and unfounded might be this imputation, and such

I have ever considered it, yet it operated with irresistible force. A cry of Secret Influence arose, more pernicious in its effects on the Country at large, than even the open accusations lately levelled against the incapacity or venality of the first Minister. The Grenville Administration, which succeeded, was stigmatized as being only a machine, the puppets of which were agitated by concealed wires. It is obvious, that no imputation in the power of malevolence to invent and circulate, could be more calculated to prejudice the King in the estimation of his people. But it became further augmented by another topic of abuse and declamation, founded on the extraordinary degree of favour enjoyed by Lord Bute at Carlton House, and the predilection with which he was known to be regarded by the Princess Dowager of Wales. Satirical prints, generally dispersed throughout the kingdom, in which Her Royal Highness was not at all spared, inflamed the public mind. Comparisons, drawn from English History, particularly from the reign of Edward the Third, when the Queen Dowager Isabella, and Mortimer her favourite, were known or supposed to have lived in a criminal union; these allusions, which were disseminated in all the

periodical works of the Time, and particularly in the "North Briton," made a deep impression.

Even the filial deference and respect, manifested by His Majesty after his accession, down to the last moment of her life, towards his Mother, was converted into a subject not only of Censure, but of Accusation, as originating in unworthy Motives. It cannot, however, be denied that Lord Bute enjoyed a higher place in that Princess's favor, if not in her affection, than seemed compatible with strict propriety. His visits to Carlton House, which were always performed in the evening; and the precautions taken to conceal his arrival; though they might perhaps have been dictated more by an apprehension of insult from the populace, to whom he was obnoxious, than from any improper Reasons; yet awakened suspicion. He commonly made use on these occasions, of the Chair and the Chairmen of Miss Vansittart, a Lady who held a distinguished place in Her Royal Highness's family. In order more effectually to elude notice, the curtains of the Chair were close drawn. The repartee of Miss Chudleigh, afterwards better known

as Duchess of Kingston, at that time a Maid of Honour at Carlton House; when reproached by her royal Mistress, for the irregularities of her conduct, obtained likewise much publicity. "*Votre Altesse Royale sait,*" replied she, "*que chacune a son But.*" As the King was accustomed to repair frequently of Evenings to Carlton House, and there to pass a considerable time, the world supposed that the Sovereign, his Mother, and the Ex-Minister met, in order to concert, and to compare their ideas; thus forming a sort of interior Cabinet, which controuled and directed the ostensible Administration.

That after having so precipitately thrown up the ministerial reins in 1763, Lord Bute felt desirous of again resuming his political power, I know from good authority. And that he was aided in the attempt by the Princess, with all her influence, is equally matter of fact; but their joint efforts proved unavailing to effect the object. A Nobleman, who was accustomed at that time to form one of the Party which met at Carlton House, and who usually remained there while His Majesty stayed; assured me that every measure had been concerted between her Royal Highness and Lord

Bute, for the purpose of bringing him again into Ministry. As the first necessary step towards its accomplishment, they agreed that he should endeavour to obtain permission to see the Dispatches, which were often sent to the King from the Secretary of State, while he continued with his mother. On those occasions, when the green Box, containing letters or papers, arrived, he always withdrew into another room, in order to peruse them with more attention. Lord Bute, as had been pre-arranged, upon the messenger bringing a Dispatch, immediately took up two candles, and proceeded before the King to the closet; expecting that His Majesty, when they were alone together, would communicate to him its nature; and that he should thus begin again to transact business. But the King, unquestionably aware of the intention, and probably disgusted at the want of firmness which his Minister had formerly shewn, or from other unascertained causes, extinguished at once the hopes entertained from this project. When he came to the door of the room, he stopped, took the candles out of Lord Bute's hand, and then dismissing him, shut the door; after which he proceeded to examine the Dispatches, alone. Lord Bute returned to the

company, and the experiment was never repeated.

If the selection of that Nobleman for the office of First Minister, and the dismission of Mr. Pitt, deprived the King of the affections of many loyal subjects; the terms upon which the Treaty of Fontainbleau were concluded, early in 1763, by Lord Bute, excited the strongest sensations of general disapprobation throughout the country. I am old enough to remember the expressions of that condemnation, which it is impossible not to admit were well founded. When we reflect that the Navy of France had been nearly annihilated, as early as 1759, by Sir Edward Hawke, in the action at Quiberon; that Spain could make little or no opposition to us on the Ocean; and that we were masters of Quebec, Montreal, together with all Canada; Cape Breton, Pondicherry, Goree, Belleisle, the Havannah, and a large part of Cuba; besides the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; not to mention the capture of Manilla, which was not then known: while, on the other hand, the enemy, though they probably would have effected the conquest or reduction of Portugal, in the course of the ensuing Campaign, yet

had taken nothing from us, which they had retained, except Minorca; — when we consider these facts, what shall we say to a Peace, which restored to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, every possession above enumerated, except Canada? — for, as to Cape Breton, when dismantled, it became only an useless desart; accepting, in exchange for so many valuable Colonies or Settlements in every quarter of the globe, the cession of the two Floridas from Spain, together with the restitution of Minorca by France. At the distance of more than half a Century, when the passions and prejudices of the hour have ceased, we cannot consider such a Treaty without astonishment and concern. Scarcely indeed does the Peace of Utrecht justly awaken warmer feelings of indignation; for concluding which, its authors were impeached, imprisoned, or compelled to fly their country. If Lord Bute escaped the fate of Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, he has not been more exempt than were those Ministers, from the censures of his contemporaries and of posterity. Nor did Queen Anne perhaps sustain a greater loss of reputation and popularity, by signing the Treaty of Utrecht, than George the Third suffered by concluding

that of Fontainbleau. Its impolicy appears not less glaring, nor less obvious, than its defects of every other kind. The expulsion of the French from Canada, and of the Spaniards from Florida, by liberating the American Colonies from all apprehension of foreign enemies, laid the inevitable foundation of their rebellion; and effected their subsequent emancipation from Great Britain, within the space of twenty years. This necessary result of such measures, perfectly foreseen at the time, was pointed out by Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, as well as by others. The House of Bourbon, soon recovering from the wounds inflicted by Pitt, contested anew, with better success, for the empire of the Sea. Neither the Havannah, Besleisle, nor Manilla, have ever passed a second time under the power of the English. If we weigh these circumstances, we shall not wonder that motives unworthy of an upright Minister, or of an able Statesman, were attributed to Lord Bute. Nor shall we be surprized, that the incapacity or errors of the Administration, diminished in no small degree the respect justly inspired by the private virtues of the Sovereign.

The injudicious persecution of Wilkes completed the unpopularity, which Lord Bute's person and measures had begun to produce throughout the nation. Whatever might have been the misconduct of Wilkes; and however deficient he might have appeared in those moral qualities which entitle to public respect, or even to individual approbation; yet, from the instant that he became an object of Royal or Ministerial resentment, on account of his attachment to the cause of Freedom, he found protectors in the public. Neither his wit, his talents, nor his courage, could have raised him to political eminence, if he had not been singled out for severe, not to say unconstitutional, prosecution. The two Secretaries of State, and the Lord Steward of the Household, had they been hired by his worst enemies, to injure their Royal Master in the esteem of his people; and to throw, as it were, upon *him*, the Odium of *their* violence, or incapacity, or ignorance; could not have done it more effectually, than by the line of action which they adopted. Lord Talbot is consigned to eternal ridicule, (as Pope says that Cromwell is "Damned to everlasting Fame;") in that incomparable Letter written by Wilkes to the late Earl Temple, descriptive of the entertain-

ing Duel fought at Bagshot, where the Lord Steward appears in the most contemptible point of view. The Earls of Egremont and Halifax, by issuing a general Warrant for the seizure of Wilkes, and taking his person into Custody; while they compromised the Majesty of the Crown, trampled on the Liberties of the Subject, and violated the essence of the English Constitution. Men who commented with severity on these measures of impolitic resentment, arraigned them as more characteristic of the vindictive Administration of James the Second, than becoming the mild Government of George the Third. Wilkes, nevertheless, wounded in a Duel, repeatedly menaced with assassination, pursued by the House of Commons, and outlawed by the Court of King's Bench, withdrew into France, where he insensibly sunk into oblivion. His very name, and his public merits, as well as his private sufferings, seemed to be equally forgotten by the Nation, during two or three years.

But the Duke of Grafton, who had become first Minister, after the extinction of the feeble Administration of Lord Rockingham, appeared as if desirous to improve upon the errors,

and to renew the most unpopular acts of his predecessor, Lord Bute. Instead of wisely extending the pardon of the Crown to Mr. Wilkes, or treating him with magnanimous contempt, when he returned from Paris; the Duke, in defiance of their past intimacy and familiarity, put in force the penalties of his sentence of outlawry; thus rendering him a second time, the object of general compassion and protection. Rejected as a Candidate to represent the City of London, he was elected Member for the County of Middlesex. Assemblies of the people in St. George's Fields, whom it was esteemed necessary to repress by a military force, and in performing which service some individuals were killed or wounded, exasperated the Nation against the author of such severities. The House of Commons adopting the principles, as well as the enmities of the Administration, expelled Wilkes from his Seat, declared him ineligible to sit among them, and placed Colonel Luttrell in his room. While the Pardon of the Crown was extended to persons convicted of the most sanguinary outrages and riots, during the Election at Brentford; by measures of consummate incapacity, a popular individual was singled out for the whole vengeance of

the Government and the Legislature. The tumults of London, in March, 1769, which menaced with insult or attack, even the Palace of the Sovereign, bore no feeble resemblance to the riotous disorders that preceded the Civil Wars, under Charles the First. A Hearse, followed by the mob, was driven into the Court Yard at St. James's, decorated with Insignia of the most humiliating or indecent description. I have always understood that the late Lord Mountmorris, then a very young man, was the person who on that occasion personated the Executioner, holding an Axe in his hands, and his face covered with a crape. The King's firmness did not however forsake him, in the midst of these trying ebullitions of Democratic rage. He remained calm and unmoved in the Drawing-Room, while the streets surrounding his residence, echoed with the shouts of an enraged multitude, who seemed disposed to proceed to the greatest extremities. But, the Duke of Grafton did not manifest equal constancy, nor display the same resolution as his master. It seemed to be the fate of George the Third to be served by Ministers, as much his inferiors in personal and political courage, as in every other moral or estimable quality.

Another opponent, still more formidable than Mr. Wilkes, had arisen amidst these convulsions of the Capital and the Country; who, from the place of his concealment, inflicted the severest wounds, and who seems to have eluded all discovery, down to the present hour. It is obvious that I mean "Junius." This celebrated writer, whom the obtrusive and imprudent vanity of Sir William Draper, even more than his own matchless powers of Composition, originally forced upon the notice of the Public, appeared in January, 1769. His first Letter, addressed to the Printer of the "Public Advertizer," then a popular Newspaper, depictures in the severest colours, the situation of the Country; dishonoured, as he asserts, in the eyes of foreign nations; disunited, oppressed, and ill-administered at home. Like Satan, when invoking his stupified and fallen Associates, he seems to exclaim, while endeavouring to rouse the English Nation from their political Apathy,

"Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

The conclusion of his opening Address, operated with amazing effect, and can hardly be exceeded in Energy. "If," says he, "by "the immediate interposition of Providence,

" it were possible for us to escape a Crisis so " full of Terror and Despair, Posterity will " not believe the History of the present " Times. — They will not believe it possible, " that their Ancestors could have survived " or recovered from so desperate a Condi- " tion, while a Duke of Grafton was Prime " Minister; a Lord North, Chancellor of " the Exchequer; a Weymouth, and a Hills- " borough, Secretaries of State; a Granby, " Commander in Chief: and Mansfield, Chief " Criminal Judge of the Kingdom." After transfixing with his keenest shafts, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Duke of Bedford, he fastened, like a vulture, on the First Minister. With an acrimony and ability that have perhaps never been equalled by any political Writer, he endeavoured to point the public Indignation equally against the Person and the Measures of the Duke of Grafton. Superior in beauty of Diction, and all the elegance of Composition, to Lord Bolingbroke; not inferior to Swift, in closeness, as well as correctness of Style, and in force of Satire; the Letters of "Junius" will be read as long as the English Language endures. Nor did his Pen, after exposing the

want of spirit and energy in the Government, respect even the Majesty of the Throne. In his memorable "Letter to the King," which cannot be perused without a mixture of Admiration and Indignation, he too successfully labours to render even the virtues of the Sovereign, suspicious and odious; while he attempts to degrade the royal character, in the opinions of his Subjects. The avidity with which these Publications were then sought after and perused, is difficult to be conceived at the present time, and never was exceeded at any period of our History. "Junius" may, indeed, justly be reckoned among the leading Causes which drove the Duke of Grafton from the helm.

I have been assured by persons of honor and veracity, who were in the habits of continually seeing Mr. Bradshaw, then Secretary of the Treasury, and of knowing his private sentiments; that he made no secret to them, of the agony into which the Duke of Grafton was thrown by these Productions. Such was their Effect and Operation on his mind, as sometimes utterly to incapacitate him during whole Days, for the ministerial duties of his Office. There are nevertheless, many who

believe and assert, that his sudden Resignation was not so much produced by the Attacks of "Junius," as it originated from another quarter. It has been pretended that the Princess Dowager of Wales, highly indignant at the mention made of her Name, in the Examination and Depositions of Dr. Musgrave at the Bar of the House of Commons; remonstrated strongly with the King, on the Supineness of his first Minister, in permitting, or rather in not suppressing such Enquiries. However the Fact may be, it is certain that at a Moment when such an Event was least expected, in January, 1770, he resigned his Office; giving, as Lord Bute had done before, another instance of Ministerial Dereliction, but not the last of the kind which has occurred in the course of the present Reign. Lord North, who succeeded to his Place, inherited likewise a considerable portion of his Unpopularity.

Having mentioned the subject, and the productions of "Junius," it seems impossible to dismiss them without making some Allusion to their Author. I have always considered that Secret, as the best kept of any in our Time. It was, indeed, on many Accounts,

and for many reasons, a Secret of the most perilous nature. For, the Offences given, and the Wounds inflicted by his Pen, were too deep, and too severe, to admit of Forgiveness, when we reflect that Sovereigns and Ministers were the Objects selected for his Attack. I have been assured, that the King riding out in the Year 1772, accompanied by General Desaguliers, said to him in Conversation, "We know who "Junius" is, and he "will write no more." The General, who was too good a Courtier to congratulate upon such a piece of Intelligence, contented himself with bowing, and the Discourse proceeded no further. Mrs. Shuttleworth, who was General Desaguliers's Daughter, believed in the Accuracy of this Fact If, however, the King had penetrated to the Secret, I do not believe that the Duke of Grafton, or the first Lord Mansfield, had arrived at any Certitude on the Point, though their Suspicions might be strongly directed towards some one Individual. It is certain that Sir William Draper died in ignorance of his Antagonist; and that he continued to express, down to a very short Time before his Decease, which took place at Bath, his concern at the Prospect of going out of Life, uninformed on the Subject.

Lord North either did not know, or professed not to know his Name. The late Lord Temple protested the same Ignorance. He must, nevertheless, have lain within a very narrow Circle; for, every Evidence, internal and external, proves him to have been a Person of pre-eminent Parts, admirable Information, high Connexions, living almost constantly in the Metropolis, and in good Company; ignorant of nothing which was done at St. James's, in the two Houses of Parliament, in the War Office, or in the Courts of Law; and personally acquainted with many Anecdotes or Facts, only to be attained by Men moving in the first Ranks of Society. I do not speak of his classical Attainments; because those might have been found among mere Men of Letters. "Junius" was a Man of the World. Henry Sampson Woodfall, who printed the Letters themselves, was ignorant of the Name or Quality of the Writer, and remained so during his whole life. Who then, we repeat, was He?

Many Individuals have become successively Objects of Suspicion, or of Accusation. Lord *George Germain*, father of the present Duke of Dorset, was named among

others. I knew him very intimately, and have frequently conversed with him on the subject. He always declared his ignorance of the Author, but he appeared to be gratified and flattered by the Belief or Imputation lighting on himself. As far, however, as my opinion can have any weight, though I thought highly of Lord George's Talents, I considered them as altogether unequal to such Productions. And I possessed the best Means, as well as Opportunities of forming my judgment, from his Conversation and Correspondence, both which I enjoyed for several Years. Indeed, I apprehend it is unnecessary to waste much Time in attempting to disprove such a Supposition, which has few Advocates or Supporters. Those persons who originally suggested, or who continue to maintain it, found the Opinion principally on the Attack of Lord Granby, in "Junius's" first Letter. But, if we examine that Production, we shall see that the Marquis is by no means singled out for Animadversion. He only attracts his portion of Satire, as a Member of the Cabinet; and it was Sir William Draper's officious Vanity which rendered him unfortunately more conspicuous than the Duke of Grafton, or Lord Mansfield. "It is you, Sir William

Draper," says Junius, "who have taken "care to represent your Friend in the cha- "racter of a drunken Landlord, who deals "out his Promises as liberally as his Liquor, "and will suffer no Man to leave his Table "either sorrowful or sober." And in a subsequent Letter he observes, "I should justly "be suspected of acting upon Motives of "more than common Enmity to Lord Granby, "if I continued to give you fresh Materials, "or Occasion for writing in his Defence." If Lord George Germain was "Junius," his powers of Composition had suffered a Diminution between 1770 and 1780, and no longer continued as powerful at the latter Period, as they had been ten Years earlier in Life. But no Man preserved at near Seventy, the Freshness and Strength of his Faculties in every Branch, more perfect or undiminished than that Nobleman.

As little do I conceive *Wilkes* to have been the man. I knew him likewise well, though not with the same intimacy as I did the last named Nobleman. It must be owned that Wilkes possessed a classic Pen, keen, rapid, cutting, and capable, as we have seen in the "North Briton," no less than in other po-

litical productions, of powerfully animating, or inflaming the public mind. His injuries were great; his feelings, acute; his spirit, undaunted; and his compositions, full of talent. But it was not "Junius." Wilkes's two Letters, the one addressed to Lord Temple, in October, 1762, from Bagshot, after his Duel with Lord Talbot; and the other, written from his house, in Great George Street, on the 19th December, 1763, to Dr. Brocklesby, immediately after his Duel with Martin; may vie in wit, pleasantry, and powers of ridicule, with any compositions in the English language. His Letter, dated from "Paris, 22d October, 1764," appealing to the Electors of Aylesbury, against the treatment which he met with from both Houses of Parliament, and from Lord Mansfield, challenges equal admiration. Lastly, his Address to the Duke of Grafton, written likewise from "Paris, on the 12th December, 1766," containing the animated relation of his Arrest, followed by his interview with the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, at the House of the former Nobleman in Piccadilly; can hardly be exceeded in energy, severity, and powers of reasoning. They charm, as much as the writings of "Junius;" but, the difference between the two productions cannot be mistaken by

any man who allows his reason fair play. Wilkes himself, who instead of shrinking from the avowal, on the contrary would have gladly assumed the fame attending on it, at whatever personal risk, disclaimed any title to such a distinction. "*Utinam scripsissem!*" Would to Heaven I could have written them! was his reply, when charged with being the Author.

Hugh Macauley Boyd, a Gentleman who accompanied or followed Lord Macartney to Madras, in 1781, where he died a few years afterwards; has been named, and his pretensions have been strongly maintained in print, as well as in private society. It has been attempted, both in his case, and in that of Wilkes, to prove from facts of various kinds, and Anecdotes, either true or imaginary, their respective right to the works of "Junius." But, I never could discover in the avowed writings of Boyd, any similarity, and still less any Equality, with the Letters of the unknown and immortal person in question. Nor would it seem, as far as we are able to judge, that Boyd had, or could have, Access to the Information, profusely exhibited through almost every page of "Junius," and which very few Individuals were competent to at-

tain. Boyd did not live in the Circle where alone such Materials were to be found, or to be collected.

I have heard the Reverend *Philip Rosenhagen* pointed out as "Junius." But the Opinion never, I believe, had many Supporters, nor did I ever regard it as entitled to serious Refutation. I knew him as an Acquaintance, between 1782 and 1785. He appeared to me to be a plausible, well informed man, imposing in his manner, of a classic mind, and agreeable conversation; living much in the world, received on the most intimate footing at Shelburne House, and possessing very considerable talents. There is, however, a wide interval between such abilities, however eminent, and those displayed by the writer under examination.

A more probable, or at least, a better concerted story, confidently circulated at the time, and which has been lately revived, was, that Mr. William Greatrakes, a native of Ireland, who lived with the Earl of Shelburne, and acted as his private Secretary, composed the Letters. The Materials were said to have been furnished by Lord Shelburne, and worked up by

his Secretary. It was added, that he died in August, 1781, at Hungerford in Berkshire, not very far from that Nobleman's Seat, of Bow Wood; and lies buried in Hungerford Church-yard, with a plain Stone over his Remains, together with a short Inscription terminated by the three Latin Words,

"Stat Nominis Umbra;"

The Motto usually, or always prefixed to Junius's Letters. I have never considered this Narration, however plausible it appears, as worthy of credit, or as meriting attention.

It has been recently attempted to prove that *Glover*, the distinguished Author of "Leonidas," was "Junius;" and the confirmation of the assertion has been sought, in the "Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and "Political Character," lately published. But, though every line of those "Memoirs" bespeaks the writer to be a man of equal ability and integrity, living in a high Circle, himself a Member of the House of Commons during many years; though the same ardent spirit of Freedom, which animates *Glover* as a Poet, is diffused over this production; and though va-

rious passages in it may seem to bear a degree of resemblance or Analogy to the animated Apostrophes of "Junius;" — yet, no person who has perused attentively the work in question, can for an instant persuade himself of the identity of the two men. If, however, these grounds of belief, drawn from the internal evidence contained in the respective Compositions, should fail in producing a decided opinion, I can adduce better proof. Mr. Glover, son of the Author of "Leonidas," and whom to name, is sufficient to stamp the authenticity of all that he asserts; assured me only a short time ago, in answer to my enquiries on the subject, that "he had not the least reason to "suppose, or to believe, that his father com-"posed the Letters of Junius:" an admission far outweighing any real or fancied similarity between those writers. Still more recent Attempts have been made in favour of a Foreigner, *De Lolme*, but, however speciously supported on some Points, they rest on no solid Foundation.

During many years of my life, notwithstanding the severity with which *Wedderburn* is treated by "Junius," I nourished a strong belief, approaching to conviction, that the late

Earl of Rosslyn, then *Mr. Wedderburn*, was himself the Author of those Letters. His abilities were eminent, his opportunities of information, great; and his political connexions between January, 1769, and January, 1772, the two extreme periods of the appearance of the Compositions in question, favor the conjecture. Though Churchill calls Wedderburn,

"A pert, prim Prater of the Northern Race,"

his talents of every kind entitled him to great admiration; and he particularly possessed the Legal, Jurisprudential, as well as Parliamentary knowledge, lavishly exhibited in various parts of "Junius." I have heard men assert, who were entitled to respect and credit, that they had seen several of the Originals, in the possession of Woodfall; and that they recognized the hand-writing to be that of Mrs. Wedderburn, his first wife, with which character they were perfectly acquainted. If this fact indeed were to be admitted, it might seem decisive: but such assertions, however apparently well sustained, are frequently made on erroneous or mistaken foundations.

All circumstances fully weighed, my own

conviction is, that the Letters of "Junius" were written by the Right Honorable *William Gerard Hamilton*, commonly designated by the Nick Name of "Single Speech Hamilton," from the report generally, though falsely circulated, that he never opened his mouth more than once in the English Parliament. He was during many years, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, and likewise a Member of the House of Commons, while I sat in it: but I had not the honor of his acquaintance; and my opinion is founded on the general prevailing sentiment of those persons, who, from their situation, rank, and means of information, are entitled to almost implicit belief. Throughout the various companies, in which, from 1775, down to the present time, I have heard this mysterious Question agitated, the great majority concurred in giving to *Hamilton*, the merit of the Letters under examination. Various Noblemen or Gentlemen, who lived on terms of intimate friendship, and of almost daily intercourse with him, during the period of their appearance or publication, in particular the late Earl of Clermont; have protested in my hearing, that they traced or recollected in "Junius's Letters, the "*ipsissima Verba*," the precise words and expressions of

Hamilton, which had recently fallen from his lips in conversation. His pen is universally admitted to have been most elegant, classical, correct, and nervous. This opinion, nevertheless, by no means, amounts to demonstration, or approaches to certainty; and it is possible, that as the secret has not been divulged from authority, during the lapse of so many Years, Posterity may never attain to any absolute proof upon the Subject, and must rest satisfied with Conjecture.

If "Junius" could be supposed still alive, obvious Motives for his concealing himself, will suggest themselves to every Man's mind. But it is very difficult to imagine, that he was under Forty years of Age, at the Time when he wrote, as he expressly asserts, that he could "remember the great Walpolean "Battles." Now, Sir Robert Walpole went out of Office, early in 1743. If therefore "Junius" still survive among us, he must have considerably passed his Eightieth Year. Yet, if on the other Hand, he be no more, what Reasons sufficiently powerful can be produced, to account for the voluntary Renunciation of that posthumous Fame, which after his Decease might have been reclaimed,

without Apprehension of any injurious Consequences to himself? This Argument or Consideration, long induced me to suppose that "Junius" must be living; and that his Death, whenever it took place, would infallibly remove the Veil which conceals his Name. On more mature Reflexion, nevertheless, very strong Causes for continuing to preserve his Incognito beyond the Grave, may present themselves. If he left behind him lineal Representatives, he might dread exposing them to the hereditary Animosity of some "of the worst, and the most powerful "Men in this Country." Even should he have left no Descendants, it is possible that he might dislike the Comparison between his Actions and his Writings, which must have been made by Mankind. If, for instance, it would have been proved that he accepted an Office, a Pension, or a Peerage, from the Sovereign and the Minister whom he had recently accused as Enemies to their Country, or as having betrayed its Interests; — would not the moral Aversion or Contempt excited towards his Memory by such a Disclosure, have overbalanced the Meed of literary Fame obtained from the Labours of his Pen? Should we admit the Validity of this Reason-

ing, we shall be led to infer, that "Junius" may remain as unknown to Posterity a Century hence, as he continues to be now in 1815.

There is still another Circumstance applicable to the present Times, which did not exist when *Burnet*, or *Bulstrode*, or *Reresby*, wrote their "Memoirs;" and which Fact must be supposed to have had its due Operation on "Junius." Between 1660 and 1714, a period of little more than Fifty Years, three Families in succession reigned over this Country: whereas from 1760, down to 1814, only one Prince has occupied the Throne, who still lives, though we lament that he no longer reigns. Under William the Third, who had expelled his Father-in-law, and who could not feel any Esteem for Charles the Second; "Junius," had he then flourished, and had levelled his Shafts against those Kings, might have unmasked, and boldly avowed his Writings. When the two Houses of Nassau, or of Stuart, no longer swayed the Sceptre, and when George the First was called to the Crown; the severest Attacks made on the preceding Sovereigns or Ministers, could have excited only a feeble degree

of Resentment, if they did not even give Rise to opposite Emotions. But the Case is widely different with respect to "Junius," and might justly challenge from him another Line of Conduct. Not only the same Family, but the same Individual, remains, at least nominally, King. And that Individual, whatever Errors of Judgment he may have committed, or however unpopular he was from his Accession down to 1783, has been since that Time embalmed in the Affections of His People. I must leave the degree of Solidity contained in these Observations, to the Decision of every Man's Judgment, as elucidatory or explanatory of the Question respecting "Junius."

In addition to so many *domestic* Causes which weakened the Veneration felt towards the King, Two *foreign* Events had likewise occurred, productive of National Dissatisfaction. The first arose from the Line of Policy, or rather of Conduct, adopted by Great Britain relative to Corsica. That Island, which in later Times has attained a degree of odious Celebrity, by giving Birth to a Man, whose military Talents, aided by the Progress of the French Revolution, en-

abled him to overturn during many Years, the antient Order and System of Europe; was, after a long Series of Insurrections against the Genoese Government, ultimately transferred by Genoa to France. Choiseul, a Minister of an elevated Mind, and of ambitious Designs; anxious to raise the French Name, as well as the Reputation of Louis the Fifteenth, from the state of Humiliation into which both were fallen by the ill Success of the preceding War; undertook, and at length effected, the Reduction of Corsica. It may however be justly questioned, whether the Conquest has really augmented the Strength or Resources of France. But, the Generosity characteristic of the English Nation, the Sympathy felt towards a Race of brave, oppressed, and unfortunate Islanders, contending for Freedom; when added to the jealous Susceptibility natural to a State always apprehensive of the Aggrandizement of its Rival; — these Feelings or political Opinions, produced a powerful Effect on the public Mind. They were sustained by Publications calculated to rouse the Country from its Apathy or Indifference to the Fate of Corsica. Pascal Paoli, Chief of the Insurgents, was depictured in them, as another Gustavus Vasa, or

William Tell, struggling against Tyranny and Oppression: while the English Ministry, it was said, pusillanimously looked on, regardless of the Event, and inattentive to so important an Accession of Power acquired by our natural Enemy.

Scarcely had the impression made by the *French* conquest of Corsica, ceased to operate, and sunk into a degree of oblivion, when another Occurrence awakened and exasperated the Nation, against the *Spanish* Branch of the House of Bourbon. The immediate cause of this Dispute arose from the possession taken of the Falkland Islands by England; but the Court of Madrid had always evaded or refused Payment of the Sum due for the ransom of Manilla. Never, perhaps, was any object in itself less valuable, nor less worthy of public consideration, than the Falkland Islands: yet the manner in which Spain acted on the occasion, displayed so much arrogance, as to compromize the honour of the British Crown, and to demand a Reparation no less public than the Affront. The Islands in question, situated in a most inclement Latitude, in the other Hemisphere, not far removed from Cape Horn; could

scarcely merit from their intrinsic Consequence, commercial or political, that any Blood should be spilt in order to acquire, or to retain, their Possession. But, the jealous policy with which the old Spanish Government always beheld even the slightest Approach of any foreign Power towards that vast Continent of South America, over which, though they could neither colonize, nor subject it, they nevertheless claimed a Dominion; impelled the Court of Madrid to commence its Operations, in a manner no less hostile than insulting to us. An English frigate was detained in the Harbour of Port Egmont, by force. It must be owned, that the Vigor, or rather Audacity of such a Proceeding, could scarcely have been exceeded by Cardinal Alberoni himself, when he presided in the Spanish Counsels, under Philip the Fifth. The Act was indeed only committed ostensibly by an Individual, Buccarelli, who commanded the Forces of Charles the Third in that Quarter of the Globe: but the Government avowed, justified, and supported him.

Lord North, on whom had recently devolved the first Place in Administration; while he appeared deeply to feel the Indignity

offered to his Sovereign, manifested a Disposition to resent it in the most effectual Manner. But, neither the State of the English Navy, nor the Preparations made in our Ports for the immediate Equipment of a powerful Fleet, were said to be such as the Exigency obviously demanded, and the public Honor unquestionably required. A mitigated Compromise, by which Spain, though she consented to cede the *Possession* of Falkland Islands to Great Britain, yet refused to admit or recognize our *Right* to them; was, after long Discussions, accepted by Ministers. It prevented a War, but it gave no general Satisfaction; more especially, as any Mention of the Manilla Ransom was studiously omitted in the Convention. Assuredly, the Moment seemed favorable to have imposed almost any Conditions on the Spanish Crown. Louis the Fifteenth, sinking in Years, and still more sunk in the general Estimation of his Subjects; disgusted at the ill Success of the former War, and determined not to engage again in Hostilities against England; having dismissed the Duke de Choiseul from Office, and lost to every Sense of public Duty, or national Glory; would, it was well known, have disregarded "the Family Com-

pact," and would have abandoned the other Branch of the House of Bourbon in the Contest.

But, Lord North, who preferred pacific measures, even had recourse to expedients not usually adopted, in order to avert a Rupture. The late Sir William Gordon, whom I well knew, and who at that time filled the post of British Envoy at the Court of Brussels, was selected by Ministers, to undertake the Commission of preventing a War. For this purpose he received private Instructions to repair in the most secret, but expeditious manner, to Paris; and to use every possible exertion for prevailing on Louis the Fifteenth, and the new First Minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon, to compel the Spanish Court to accommodate the points in dispute. Gordon, who found in the French Sovereign and his Ministers, the warmest disposition to preserve Peace, succeeded completely in the object of his Mission. He told me, that as a recompense for his service, he received from Lord North, a Pension of Three Hundred Pounds a year; and from His Majesty, the further sum of One Thousand Pounds, as a Present, but, the Convention by which Peace was made,

excited universal disapprobation; and afforded to the pen of "Junius" an occasion which he did not lose, of pointing the public censure with inconceivable severity against the King himself personally, no less than against the Administration.

Even after the interval of four years, which elapsed between the termination of this dispute, and the commencement of the American Rebellion; though the Nation enjoyed profound Peace, together with all the advantages of Commerce, augmenting Opulence, and progressive Prosperity, yet the Sovereign was by no means popular. New sources of discontent, and imaginary or doubtful subjects of complaint, were ingeniously discovered. Lord Bute had, indeed, disappeared from the theatre of public life; and the Princess Dowager of Wales, whose supposed influence over her Son, rendered her always an object of attack, was no more. She expired in 1772, of a most painful Disease, which she supported with uncommon firmness. But, other names and figures succeeded to their pretended influence behind the Curtain of State. *Bradshaw*, surnamed "the cream-coloured Parasite," and *Dyson*, gave place to the superior ascen-

dancy of *Jenkinson*, who was accused of directing, unseen, the Resolutions of the Cabinet, and of possessing the interior Secret, as well as Confidence, of the Crown. A Prince, distinguished by almost every domestic virtue, animated by the noblest intentions, and by the warmest affection for his people; was represented as despotic, inflexible, vindictive, and disposed to govern by unconstitutional Means or Engines. His very Pleasures, his Tastes, and his private Recreations, were traduced or satirized, as bearing the same Stamp and Impression. Poetry lent her aid to expose these personal Weaknesses, if such they were, to public Animadversion or Ridicule. The "Heroic Epistle to Sir "William Chambers," (attributed to one of the finest poetic Writers of the Period, Mason;) rivalled "Junius" in Delicacy of Invective, in its insulting Irony, and in the severity of its Imputations. Such appeared to be the State of public Opinion, and such the Prejudices generally entertained against the King, throughout the Nation, at the Period when, in the Summer of 1775, Hostilities began on the American Continent.

That George the Third, from a very early

Period of his Reign, had imbibed a deeply-rooted Opinion of the Right inherent in the Mother Country to tax her American Colonies; and of the Practicability, or rather the Facility, of the Attempt, if made, no well-informed Man can entertain a Doubt. As early as 1764, His Majesty, conversing with Mr. George Grenville, then First Minister, on the subject of the Finances, which, after the close of the triumphant "Seven Years' War," demanded Economy, no less than Ability to re-establish; mentioned to him as one great Resource, the Measure of taxing America. Mr. Grenville replied, that he had frequently revolved, and thoroughly considered the Proposition, which he believed to be not only difficult, but impracticable; and pregnant, if undertaken, with the most alarming Consequences to the Sovereign himself. These Apprehensions, far however from intimidating or discouraging the King, made no Impression on his Mind; and in a subsequent Conversation with the same Minister, His Majesty gave him plainly to understand, that if he wanted either Nerves or Inclination to make the Attempt, others could be found who were ready to undertake it. The Words produced their full effect upon the Person to

whom they were addressed; and Mr. Grenville preferred endeavouring to realize the experiment, however hazardous he might esteem it, rather than allow it to be committed to other hands. It failed at that time, but was revived ten years later, with more serious national results, under Lord North's Administration.

I have always considered the *Principle* upon which that war commenced, and peculiarly as affecting the King, to have been not only defensible, but meritorious. Nor have I ever esteemed the political and military Conductors of the American Revolution, as other than successful Rebels of unquestionable courage, constancy, and ability; whatever Eulogiums were conferred on them in Parliament, by Fox and Burke. I well know that the Names of Franklin and of Washington, have been consecrated by a very numerous part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain. The former, if considered as a natural Philosopher, a Philanthropist, and a man of Genius, doubtless may lay claim to universal esteem. Nor are the abstract pretensions of Washington less conspicuous, as a General, and a Citizen of America. In both capacities he may rank with Cincinnatus, or with the younger Cato. But, in the

estimation of all who regard the Supremacy of the Mother Country over Colonies which had been not merely planted, but likewise preserved by the expenditure of British Blood and Treasure, as constituting an immutable Principle; a Sovereign who would not have maintained that Supremacy, must have been unworthy of the Sceptre.

The whole life of William the Third, from his attainment of manhood, down to the last moments of his existence, was passed in a continual struggle to preserve the Liberties of his own Country, or those of England, against arbitrary power. His name will ever be connected with Constitutional Freedom, and as such is cherished in our remembrance. But, does any person suppose that if William had reigned over the British Isles, at the period of the American Rebellion; whatever love of civil Liberty might animate him as a man, he would on that account have relinquished the Rights of his Crown: or have tamely acquiesced in the refusal of his American Subjects, to contribute by indirect Taxation, to the general wants of the Empire? Those who venture to form such a conclusion, must, as it appears to me, have very imperfectly studied

the Character, or appreciated the Actions of that illustrious Prince.

The *Wisdom* and *Policy* of the American War, may perhaps appear more doubtful. The attempt in the first instance to tax, and afterwards to reduce by force, a vast Continent, separated from Great Britain by an immense Ocean, inhabited by a people who were individually indebted many Millions to the Mother Country, ardent for Emancipation, and sufficiently unanimous in their resistance to the Parent State, to be able to call out into action nearly all the persons capable of bearing Arms; — such an experiment, even if speculatively considered, would doubtless have impressed any wise Statesman, as hazardous in itself, and of very uncertain issue. In the case before us, all these impediments acquired additional strength, from other concurring circumstances. A large proportion of society here at home, regarded the American Rebellion with favorable eyes, and secretly wished success to the Cause; because they dreaded lest the British Constitution itself would not long survive the encrease of Power and Influence, that the Crown must necessarily derive from the Subjugation of the Colonies beyond

the Atlantic. In both Houses of Parliament, a numerous, active, and encreasing Party openly maintained and justified the Insurrection, rejoiced in their triumphs, and reprobated in Theory, no less than in practice, the attempt to subjugate the Revolted States. Even those who did not approve such political principles, yet saw in the war, if it should prove unsuccessful, a means of overturning the Administration. The inability of Great Britain to send a military force sufficiently numerous for reducing to obedience so many Provinces, extending from the Frontiers of Canada, to the Borders of Florida; compelled the Government to obtain additional troops, by application to various of the German Powers. From the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel in particular, many thousands were procured. These Stipendiaries, though perhaps not more justly objects of moral or political condemnation, than were the Swiss and Grison Regiments retained in the service of France, or the Scotch Corps serving in the Pay of Holland, yet encreased the popular cry, and furnished subjects of Obloquy, or of Declamation. That France must, sooner or later, interfere in favor of the Americans, was likewise obvious; because the French Ministry, listening only to the narrow sugges-

tions of national rivality, did not, or would not perceive, that it could never be the wise Policy of a despotic Government, to aid the cause of Revolt, by sending forces out of the Country, to imbibe principles of Freedom and Resistance among Rebels. It is an unquestionable fact, that the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth possessed enlargement of mind, and sound discernment, sufficient to feel this truth. He even objected strongly to the policy of detaching French Troops to the assistance of Washington; and he was only overruled in his opposition to the Measure, by his deference for the Counsels of Maurepas and Vergennes. France has since dearly paid, under Robespierre and Bonaparte, for her deviation from the dictates of wisdom, as well as of magnanimity, in thus supporting Insurrection.

It is however in the *Conduct* of that unfortunate Contest, that we must principally seek for the cause of its ill success. Near three years elapsed from the time of its commencement, before the Court of Versailles ventured openly to interpose as an Enemy. But, the *Howes* appear to have been either lukewarm, or remiss, or negligent, or incapable. Lord North's selection of those two Com-

manders, excited at the time, just condemnation; however brave, able, or meritorious, they might individually be esteemed. Their ardor in the Cause itself was doubted; and still more questionable was their attachment to the Administration. Never, perhaps, in the history of modern war, has an Army, or a Fleet, been more profusely supplied with every requisite for brilliant and efficient service, than were the Troops and Ships sent out by Lord North's Cabinet in 1776, across the Atlantic. But, the efforts abroad, did not correspond with the exertions made at home. The energy and activity of a *Wellington* never animated that torpid mass. Neither vigilance, enterprize, nor co-operation, characterized the Campaigns of 1776, and 1777. Dissipation, Play, and Relaxation of Discipline, found their way into the British Camp. New York became another *Capua*. The defeat at Trenton, which was critically unfortunate, rescued the Congress from the lowest state of Depression. After Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, little rational probability of success remained; and when Clinton succeeded to the Command of the Army at New York, by the recall of Sir William Howe, the French were on the point of declaring in favor of the Americans. The

loyalty and courage of Sir Henry Clinton were besides more distinguished, than were his military Talents. Even the British Troops, engaged in a species of Civil War, did not manifest the same eagerness or alacrity, as when opposed to a foreign Enemy, though they displayed in every Engagement, their accustomed steadiness and valor. The service itself, from the nature of the Country, became severe, painful, and discouraging. Lakes, Swamps, Morasses, and almost impenetrable Forests, presented at every step, obstacles not easily overcome by the bravest Soldiers. And though the scene of Hostilities was successively shifted from Boston to New York; thence to the Banks of the Chesapeake and the Delaware; finally, to the Southern and Central Provinces; yet the results, however promising they might be at the commencement, proved always ultimately abortive.

At home, a gradual and encreasing Discontent overspread the Kingdom, pervaded all classes, and seemed to menace the Administration with the effects of popular, or national resentment. The Navy, divided into parties, no longer blocked the Enemy's ports,

or carried victory wherever it appeared, as it had done in the commencement of His Majesty's Reign. Our distant Possessions, unprotected, fell into the hands of France or Spain. Even our Commerce was intercepted, captured, and greatly diminished. Each year seemed to produce new foreign Adversaries, and to augment the public embarrassments or distress. Ministers who were neither vigorous, nor fortunate, nor popular, holding even their Offices by a precarious tenure, inspired no confidence. The Opposition, though diminished by the exertions which Government had made to secure a Majority in the Lower House, on the Convocation of a new Parliament; was numerous, confident, able, and indefatigable. They saw, or believed they saw, the object of their grasp, at no great distance. Futurity presented to all men, a most discouraging prospect; and Peace appeared to be not only distant, but unattainable, except by such sacrifices of National Revenue, Territory, and Honor, as could not be contemplated without a degree of dismay. America might be considered as lost; while our Possessions in the East Indies seemed to be menaced with total subversion. Those who remember the

Period to which I allude, will not think the colors of this Description, either heightened, or overcharged. At no moment of the Revolutionary War which we almost unintermittingly sustained against the French, from 1793 to 1814; neither in 1797, during the Mutiny in the Navy; nor in 1799, after the unsuccessful Expedition to the Helder; nor in 1805, subsequent to the Battle of Austerlitz; nor in 1806, when the Prussian Monarchy fell at Auerstadt; nor in 1807, at the Peace of Tilsit; nor when Sir John Moore was compelled, early in 1809, to re-embark at Corunna, and the whole Pyrenean Peninsula seemed to lie at the feet of its Corsican Master; — though each of these Æras unquestionably presents images of great National Depression, did a deeper Despondency prevail among all ranks of society, than towards the close of the American Contest, as the Administration of Lord North drew to its termination.

In the midst of so universal a dejection, the King remained altogether unmoved. Neither Defeats, nor Difficulties, nor the number of his foreign Enemies, nor domestic Opposition, unhinged his mind, or shook his resolu-

tion. Convinced that he could not abandon the struggle in which he was engaged, however arduous or doubtful might be the result, without renouncing his own Birth-right, the Interests of his Crown, and the best Portion of the British Empire; he never vacillated, nor shewed for a moment, any disposition to dismiss his Ministers. Whatever irresolution, difference of opinion, or apprehension, might pervade the Cabinet itself at certain moments, none of these sentiments agitated the Sovereign. He only desired to abide the Issue, and to maintain the Contest. It is, perhaps, for Posterity to decide on the degree of approbation or of blame, political and moral, which such a character and conduct, under such circumstances, may justly challenge: but even if we should incline to censure, or to condemn, we cannot help in some measure admiring it. As however, His Majesty's opinions and wishes were universally known or understood; a proportionate degree of unpopularity fell personally on him; and he was regarded as the vital principle which animated, sustained, and propelled the Administration. When we consider this fact, in addition to all the preceding statements given of his Measures since he acceded to the Throne; we

shall no longer wonder, that in defiance of so many claims to the affectionate veneration of his People, he was nevertheless, at this period of his reign, by no means an object of general partiality or attachment.

Lord North, who had already occupied the Posts of first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, during eleven Years, was then in the full Vigor of his Faculties, having nearly accomplished the Forty-ninth Year of his Age. In his Person he was of the middle size, heavy, large, and much inclined to Corpulency. There appeared in the cast and formation of his Countenance, nay even in his Manner, so strong a resemblance to the Royal Family, that it was difficult not to perceive it. Like them, he had a fair Complexion, regular Features, light Hair, with bushy Eyebrows, and grey Eyes, rather prominent in his Head. His Face might be indeed esteemed a Caricature of the King; and those who remembered the Intimacy which subsisted between Frederic, the late Prince of Wales, and the Earl, as well as Countess of Guildford, Lord North's Father and Mother, to which, Allusion has already been made; found no difficulty in

accounting, though perhaps very unjustly, for that similarity. He possessed an Advantage, considered in his ministerial Capacity, which neither of his two immediate Predecessors, the Marquis of Rockingham, or the Duke of Grafton, could boast; and in which, his three immediate Successors in Office, Lord Rockingham, Lord Shelburne, and the Duke of Portland, were equally deficient. I mean, that being not a Peer, but a Commoner, he had attained in the course of Years, that intimate Knowledge of the House of Commons, its formation, and the Modes of conducting or influencing it as a Body, which nothing can confer, except long Habits of Debate, and of personal Attendance. His natural Affability rendered him, besides, so accessible, and the communicativeness of his Temper inclined him so much to Conversation, that every Member of the House found a facility in becoming known to him. Never indeed was a First Minister less intrenched within the forms of his official Situation. He seemed on the contrary, always happy to throw aside his public Character, and to relapse into an Individual.

His Tongue being too large for his Mouth,

rendered his Articulation somewhat thick, though not at all indistinct. It is to this Peculiarity or Defect in his Enunciation, that "Junius" alludes in one of his Letters, written in January, 1770, when he says, after mentioning the Duke of Grafton's Resignation, "The palm of Ministerial Firmness is now transferred to Lord North. "He tells us so, himself, with the Plenitude "of the *Ore rotundo*." He did not however bedew his Hearers while addressing them, as Burnet tells us, the Duke of Lauderdale, so well known under Charles the Second's Reign, always did, in consequence of the faulty Conformation of his Tongue. In Parliament, the Deficiency of Lord North's Sight, was productive to him of many Inconveniences. For, even at the distance of a few Feet, he saw very imperfectly; and across the House, he was unable to distinguish Persons with any degree of Accuracy. In speaking, walking, and every Motion, it is not enough to say that he wanted Grace: he was to the last degree awkward. It can hardly obtain Belief, that in a full House of Commons, he took off on the point of his Sword, the Wig of Mr. Welbore Ellis, and carried it a considerable Way across the Floor, without ever suspect-

ing, or perceiving it. The Fact happened in this Manner. Mr. Ellis, who was then Treasurer of the Navy, and well advanced towards his Seventieth Year, always sat at the lowest Corner of the Treasury Bench, a few Feet removed from Lord North. The latter having occasion to go down the House, previously laid his Hand on his Sword, holding the Chafe of the Scabbard forward, nearly in a horizontal Direction. Mr. Ellis stooping at the same Instant that the First Minister rose, the point of the Scabbard came exactly in contact with the Treasurer of the Navy's Wig, which it completely took off, and bore away. The Accident, however ludicrous, was wholly unseen by Lord North, who received the first intimation of it, from the involuntary bursts of Laughter that it occasioned in every quarter of the House. Mr. Ellis, however, without altering a Muscle of his Countenance, and preserving the most perfect Gravity in the midst of the general Convulsion, having received back his Wig, re-adjusted it to his Head, and waited patiently till the House had recovered from the effect of so extraordinary, as well as ridiculous an Occurrence.

In addition to his defect of Sight, Lord

North was subject likewise to a constitutional Somnolency, which neither the animated Declamations of Fox, nor the pathetic Invocations of Burke, nor the hoarse Menaces of Barré, could always prevent. It attacked him even on the Treasury Bench, sometimes with irresistible Force. Nor was he altogether exempt from its influence in private society. Having called on a Lady of Condition, one Evening, the Charms of whose Person and Conversation were universally acknowledged at the Time of which I am writing, he found her engaged in a violent Altercation with her Sister-in-law. Lord North, with his characteristic good Humour, attempted to interpose his Mediation, and to accommodate the Quarrel: but they were not to be pacified without recurring to legal Assistance. He consented therefore to wait till the Lady of the House should return from her Solicitor's Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, which she promised to do without delay. Seating himself in an Arm-chair before the Fire, he soon fell into a profound Sleep, from which he was not awakened by the entrance of one of the Maid servants; who seeing a corpulent Man, with a blue Riband across his Breast, asleep in her Mistress's Drawing Room, and being unacquainted with the First

Minister's person, ran down into the Kitchen, to give the Alarm. Yet, in defiance of all these physical Infirmities, whenever he rose to reply in the House of Commons, he displayed no want of Recollection, Presence of Mind, or Accuracy. He seldom, or never, took Notes; trusting to his Memory for retaining the Facts which occurred during the preceding discussion. Sir Grey Cooper, however, who commonly sat on his left hand, supplied, on particular Occasions, that Deficiency.

Lord North was powerful, able, and fluent in Debate; sometimes repelling the Charges made against him, with solid Argument; but still more frequently eluding or blunting the Weapons of his Antagonists, by the force of Wit and Humour. He rarely rose however to Sublimity, though he possessed vast Facility and Command of Language. When necessary, he could speak for a long Time, apparently with great Pathos, and yet disclose no Fact, nor reveal any Secret. An unalterable Suavity and Equality of Temper, which was natural to him, enabled him to sustain, unmoved, the bitter Sarcasms and severe Accusations, levelled at him from the Opposition Benches. They always seemed to sink into him, like a Cannon Ball into a Wool Sack.

Sometimes, the coarse Invectives of Alderman Sawbridge, or the fiery Sallies of George Byng, roused him from his seeming Apathy; and effected the Object, which the delicate Irony, or laboured Attacks of more able Adversaries, had failed to produce. Once, and only once, during the Time that I sat in Parliament, I witnessed his rising to a Pitch of the most generous Indignation. Barré attracted this Storm on himself, by the Reproaches which he made on the First Minister for oppressing the People with Taxes: Reproaches equally uncalled for by the Occasion, as they were delivered with insulting Asperity of Language. It happened after the Close of that memorable Debate, when General Conway, on the 22d of February, 1782, may be said to have terminated the American War; Administration only carrying the Question by a single Vote. Lord North alluding to this recent Triumph of the Opposition, said in Reply to Barré, that "he "presumed the Division of that evening, had "inflamed the Colonel's Valour to such in-"temperate Abuse," which he qualified with the Epithets of "insolent and brutal." The Speaker interposing, mutual Apologies were offered. Pitt and Tierney met on Putney

Common in 1798, and exchanged Shots for less Provocation: but, a Duel between Lord North and Barré, would have excited a sort of Ridicule; the former seeing very imperfectly with both Eyes, and the latter having only one defective Eye. Besides, Anger and Resentment appeared to be foreign to Lord North's Nature, and as if only put on occasionally to serve a particular purpose. He was indeed incapable of lasting enmity, though he felt, and sometimes expressed Contempt for those, who abandoned him from mean and mercenary Motives.

Baited, harrassed, and worried as he always was in Parliament, during the latter years of his Administration, he never manifested any impatience for the termination of the Session: on the contrary, doubts were entertained among those who knew him best, whether he did not derive a gratification from keeping the House of Commons sitting. That Assembly presented in fact a Theatre on which he acted the first Personage, where he attracted almost all attention, and where his abilities rendered him hardly less conspicuous than his Ministerial situation. In opening *the Budget*, he was esteemed peculiarly lucid, clear, and able. On that account it constituted a day of

triumph to his friends and supporters, who exulted in the talent which he displayed, whenever he exhibited the state of the National Finances, or imposed new pecuniary burthens. I was twice present at his performance of this arduous task; first, in 1781, and afterwards, in the following year, when he executed it for the last time. Each performance appeared to me, very deserving of the Encomiums lavished on it; and if compared with the incapable manner in which *the Budget* was opened by his successor, Lord John Cavendish, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1783, I still continue of the same opinion. But, Lord North could sustain no competition with the late Mr. Pitt, who on those, as on all other occasions, manifested a perspicuity, eloquence, and talent, altogether wonderful; which carried the Audience along with him in every Arithmetical statement, left no calculation obscure or ambiguous, and impressed the House at its close, with tumultuous Admiration.

Lord North could descend without effort, I might say, with ease and dignity, from the highest Offices of his public situation in the House of Commons, to the lowest duties of a private Member. In the Spring of the year

1781, when "the Secret Committee for en-
"quiring into the Causes of the War in the
"Carnatic," was appointed by Ballot, I was named one of the Scrutineers, to examine the names of the Persons chosen to compose it. The House being about to break up, we were standing round the Table, when some voices called out the name of Lord North for a Scrutineer. Far from declining to engage in such an Occupation, which he might easily have done, on account of his Official business and employments, he instantly repaired with the Members nominated, to one of the Committee Rooms. We sat till a late hour before the Scrutiny was finished, and dined together up stairs. And if he made the worst Scrutineer, he was certainly the pleasantest and best Companion, during the whole time. He possessed a classic mind, full of information, and always enlivened by wit, as well as sweetened by good humour. When young, he had travelled over a considerable part of Europe, and he knew the Continent well: he spoke French with facility, and was equally versed in the great writings of Antiquity. It was impossible to experience dullness in his society. Even during the last years of his life, when nearly or totally blind, and labouring

under many infirmities, his equanimity of temper never forsook him, nor even his gaiety, and powers of conversation. I have frequently seen him display the utmost chearfulness under those circumstances so trying to human nature.

As a Statesman, his enemies charged him with irresolution: but he might rather be taxed with indolence and procrastination, than with want of decision. He naturally loved to postpone, though when it became necessary to resolve, he could abide firmly by his Determination. Never had any Minister purer hands, nor manifested less rapacity. In fact, he amassed no wealth, after an Administration of twelve years. When he quitted Office, his circumstances were by no means opulent, and he had a numerous family. His Adversaries reproached him likewise, that though incapable of personally descending to unworthy means of enriching himself, he allowed peculations or abuses to be practised by those employed under him. Sawbridge, when speaking in his place, as a Member, alluding to this accusation, exclaimed with Cato, "Curse on his virtues, they've undone his "Country!" A similar charge was made

against the late Mr. Pitt, who, after having been First Minister during almost his whole life, left only Debts behind him. But it never entered into any man's mind, however inimical, to accuse either Lord North or Mr. Pitt, of making undue purchases in the public Funds, or of turning their Ministerial information to private purposes of pecuniary emolument. They were known to be upright and disinterested. The great defect of Lord North's Government arose from the easiness of his natural temper, which sometimes perhaps induced him to adopt, or to defend Measures, that had not always the sanction of his judgment. Another, and perhaps a greater evil, arising from his facility and want of energy, was, that he did not, like the great Earl of Chatham, sufficiently coerce the other Members of the Cabinet; each of whom, under Lord North, might be said to form a sort of independant Department. They were in fact, rather his co-equals, than his subordinates, as they ought to have been; and the public Service often suffered from their want of union, or from their clashing interests, and private animosities.

The want of political courage cannot be

justly attributed to him. If we reflect that his Administration equalled in length of time, the aggregate of the five preceding Ministers, namely, the first Mr. Pitt's, Lord Bute's, Mr. Grenville's, Lord Rockingham's, and the Duke of Grafton's; and if we consider how critical, as well as perilous, were the Times, particularly during the reverses of the American War, and in the Riots of June, 1780, which last convulsions might have appalled the stoutest mind; we shall not refuse him a just claim to the praise of Ministerial firmness. Even his ultimate resignation in 1782, I am convinced, arose more from disgust and weariness, added to despair, than from personal fear, or from any defect of nerves. Though not unguarded in private Conversation, or in Debate, he was careless in many respects, to a degree hardly credible. I have heard a Member of his Cabinet say, that it was dangerous to trust him with State papers, which he perpetually mislaid or forgot. A Letter of the first political importance, addressed to him by the King, which he had lost, after a long search, was found lying wide open in the water-closet. A strong and mutual affection subsisted between His Majesty and him, as was natural, after the many heavy storms

that they had weathered together, for so many years. This attachment on the part of the former, though shaken and interrupted when Lord North joined Mr. Fox in 1783, yet revived in the Royal bosom at a subsequent period, on Lord North becoming blind; a circumstance at which, when made known to him, His Majesty expressed the deepest concern and sympathy. He did not then probably foresee that he should himself be visited with the same affliction; a point of similarity between them, which is not a little remarkable.

Besides his Ministerial Offices, Lord North was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lady North enjoyed the Rangership of Bushy Park. It was there, that, surrounded by his family, he appeared peculiarly an object of esteem and of attachment, divested of all form or ostentation, diffusing gaiety and good humour round him. Even those who opposed the *Minister*, loved the *Man*. I have had the honor to witness, and to participate of the scene that I here describe; and may say as Pope does of Sir Robert Walpole,

"Seen him I have, but in the social hour
"Of private *Converse*, ill exchanged for Power."

The Earl of Guildford, Lord North's father, attained to a very advanced age: I believe, to eighty-six, and had nearly survived his son, only dying about two years before him. So that Lord North, like his predecessor, Sir Robert Walpole, remained a Member of the House of Commons, during almost his whole life. Lord Guildford had been three times married; Dr. North, the present Bishop of Winchester, being his son by the second wife. Lord North sprung from his first marriage. The Minister secured the Reversion, if I may so term it, of the Bishoprick of Winchester, for his Brother, by a piece of Address. For, the Archiepiscopal See of York having become vacant on the Decease of Dr. Drummond; Lord North, who knew that the King had destined that high Ecclesiastical promotion for Dr. Markham, then Bishop of Chester, determined nevertheless to ask it for Dr. North, Bishop of Worcester. Conscious that he should meet with a refusal, for which he was prepared, he ably made it subservient to the attainment of his real object, Winchester: a Mitre that might be reasonably expected soon to drop, from the age and infirmities of its possessor, Dr. Thomas. When Lord North preferred his request, the King replied, that it was impossible to gratify him, as the Arch-

bishoprick of York must be conferred on the Bishop of Chester. The First Minister insisted: but the Sovereign remained firm, recapitulated the obligations which he owed to Dr. Markham, for his care of the Prince of Wales's Education, and left no prospect of effecting any change in his resolution. "Your "Majesty then," said Lord North, "will, I "hope, have no objection to give my Brother, "the See of Winchester, whenever it may be-"come vacant?" "Oh, by all means," answered the King, "You may rely on it:" a Promise, which soon afterwards received its Accomplishment.

I will conclude the Subject of Lord North, on which I dwell with Complacency, by observing, that though he cannot be esteemed a great Statesman, in the most comprehensive Sense, like the first or the second Mr. Pitt; though he was even a very unfortunate, as well as a most unpopular Minister, during the far greater part, or the whole course of his Administration; yet he possessed distinguished Claims to national Esteem. The American War formed the Weight which dragged him down: a Load that would have sunk the great Lord Chatham himself, if he

had attempted to lift it, notwithstanding his Talents and popular Favor. In the Year 1758, when that eminent Statesman was called to the Direction of public Affairs, not by the Sovereign, but by the Nation, he had only to conduct and point the Energies of the Country against France. His son, in 1793, beheld himself placed, as the Champion of Order, Morals, Religion, and Monarchical Government, in opposition to the most sanguinary and detestable Republic, if it could be with Justice entitled to that Denomination, which ever arose among Men. Both Ministers were in some Measure sustained and impelled by the very Contest. But Lord North, who derived little Support from his Countrymen, and none from the Nature of the War, could only look to the Crown for Protection against public Clamor, in and out of Parliament. In the Distribution of Honors and Dignities, he was far more sparing than his Successor; a Fact of which we shall be convinced, if we compare the List of Peerages created between 1770 and 1782, with those made by Mr. Pitt, when First Minister, within the same Portion of Time, during any Period of his Administration. Nor was Lord North equally profuse

of the Public Money, as Mr. Pitt, whatever Severity of Censure he underwent for his Extravagance or Negligence, in the Management and Expenditure of the Finances. No Impeachment of any subordinate Minister, or of any Member of his Cabinet, ever took place, for Defalcation, or Misapplication of Sums which passed through his Hands, as we witnessed in 1806. Yet the Opposition in the Lower House of Parliament, during the whole Progress of the American War, exceeded in Numbers, and at least equalled in Virulence, the Minority which impeached Lord Melville.

As a Man, considered in every private Relation, even in his very Weaknesses, Lord North was most amiable: in that point of View, his Character will rise on a Comparison with any First Minister of Great Britain, during the Course of the Eighteenth Century; not excepting Lord Godolphin, Mr. Pelham, or the Marquis of Rockingham. The two former were justly accused of a passion for Play, which accompanied them through Life: a Vice from which Lord North was wholly exempt. *Burnet*, who recounts the Fact relative to the Lord

Treasurer Godolphin, says, "he loved Gaming "the most of any Man of Business I ever "knew; and gave one Reason for it; be- "cause it delivered him from the Obligation "to talk much." Dodington, when relating Mr. Pelham's Attachment to the same Gratification, adds, that he studiously concealed it with the utmost Care. Lord North possessed better intellectual Resources in himself. He possessed likewise the highest Sources of Enjoyment in his Family, surrounded by his Children. The Marquis of Rockingham was childless; and Lord Bute's Fire-side was not characterized by the same Expansion of the Heart, the same Emancipation from all Severity of Form, or the same Ebullitions of Fancy and Intellect. His immediate Predecessor, the Duke of Grafton, respecting whom "Junius" observes, when speaking of his domestic qualities, "Your Grace has now made the com- "plete Revolution of the political Zodiac, "from the *Scorpion* in which you stung Lord "Chatham, to the hopes of a *Virgin* in the "House of Bloomsbury;" — the Duke could stand no Competition with Lord North, in the endearing Charities of Life, where the Minister becomes merged in the Father, the

Husband, and the Individual. If we would try to find his Equal in these Endowments and Virtues, we must remount to Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, or to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. — Every Beholder, while contemplating the Monument where rest the Remains of the great Earl of Chatham, or of the Second Mr. Pitt, must be penetrated with Emotions of Admiration and Respect: but all those who personally knew Lord North, or had ever mixed with him in Society, while regarding his Tomb, would involuntarily find their Eyes suffused in Tears.

The post of Secretary of State for the *Northern* Department, was at that Time filled by Lord Stormont; a Nobleman who having passed great Part of his Life in a diplomatic Capacity, on the Continent, principally at the Courts of Dresden and Vienna, necessarily possessed a considerable Knowledge of the Interests and Politics of Europe. He had nevertheless manifested no great Vigilance, nor displayed any superior Penetration, during his recent Embassy at Paris; where, it was commonly believed, he had been deceived by the Protestations, or duped by the Artifices, of Maurepas and of Vergennes, previous to the

open Interference of France in the Affairs of America. His near Alliance to the Earl of Mansfield, of whom he was the Nephew and collateral Heir, if it conferred no Claim to popular Favor, unquestionably conduced to render him more acceptable at St. James's. Even his Enemies admitted him to possess Application; and whenever he rose in the House of Peers, he displayed a thorough Acquaintance with the Subject on which he spoke, together with great Precision of Language, and force of Argument.

The Earl of Hillsborough, who held the *Southern* Department, wanted neither Ability nor Attention to public Business: but his natural Endowments, however solid, did not rise above mediocrity. He seemed to have owed his political, as well as personal Elevation in Life, more to his good Sense, Penetration, and Address, than to any intellectual Superiority. I have seen him much embarrassed and disconcerted in the Session of 1781, when called on officially in the House of Lords, to explain, or to justify, the Measures adopted in Bengal: an Embarrassment which arose from his Ignorance of Names, Places, and Circumstances in that Quarter of

the Globe, with which, as Secretary of State for the East Indies, he ought to have been acquainted. We must however recollect, that very few Persons, except such as were locally connected with India, had then attained any accurate Information respecting the Company's Affairs. Of this assertion I could adduce many proofs. In February, 1782, when Lord Shelburne speaking in the House of Peers, made Allusion to "a King, "or Supreme Rajah of the Mharattas," he felt himself compelled to explain to their Lordships, the Nature and narrow Limits of that nominal Sovereignty; with which, as well as with the Office of "Peshwa," or efficient Ruler, of the Mharatta Empire, nine-tenths of his Audience were utterly unacquainted. I recollect the Astonishment, not unmixed with some degree of Ridicule, excited in the House of Commons, on Governor Johnstone's first Mention and Description of the Harbour of Trincomalé in the Island of Ceylon; a Bay, which probably, till that Occasion, had never been heard of by the greater part of the County Members. Though the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic in 1780, powerfully awakened the national Attention to the Subject; it was Fox's me-

morable Bill, followed at a short Interval, by Hastings's Trial, that diffused over the whole Kingdom an Eagerness for Oriental Knowledge.

But, Lord George Germain, who presided over the American Department, attracted from a variety of Causes, far more public Consideration, while he presented a fairer Mark for parliamentary Attack, or for popular Declamation, than either of the other Secretaries of State. His Abilities, the Circumstance of his being a Member of the House of Commons, even the Events of his former Life, and above all, the Object of the War in which we were engaged; a War, that at the Commencement of 1781, still professed to be the Subjugation of the revolted Colonies; — these united Circumstances rendered him, after Lord North, the most prominent Person in Administration. As I had the Honor to enjoy a place in his Friendship, and to live with him during the latter Years of his Life, on terms of great Intimacy, I may pretend to have known him well. Nor will I deny that I am partial to his Memory: but, that Partiality will never induce me to pervert, or to misrepresent any

Fact; though I am aware that it may unintentionally bias my Opinions. He had completed his Sixty-fifth Year at this Time; but a frame of Body naturally robust, and a vigorous Constitution, secured him almost uninterrupted Health, together with the Enjoyment of all his Faculties. In his Person, which rose to near six feet, he was muscular, and capable of enduring much bodily, as well as mental, Fatigue. His Countenance indicated Intellect, particularly his Eye, the Motions of which were quick and piercing. On first Acquaintance, his Manner and Air impressed with an idea of proud Reserve: but no Man, in private Society, unbent himself more, or manifested less Self-importance. In the midst of his Family; — for he rarely dined from home; and in the Company of a few select Friends, he soon forgot the Toils annexed to public Life, the Asperities of Debate, and the Vexations of Office. Even after the latest Nights in the House of Commons, he always sat down to Table, drank a pint of Claret, and passed in Review the Incidents of the preceding Evening. It was then that his Conversation became most entertaining; seasoned with curious Anecdotes collected during the course of a long Life,

passed in the highest Circles, amidst the greatest Affairs, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent, where he had served; embracing the Secret History of the present, and of the two late Reigns.

Though Lord George Germain was so highly born, his Education did not altogether correspond with his Extraction, and he owed far more to Nature, than to Cultivation. He had, indeed, been brought up in the College of Dublin; but he possessed little Information derived from Books, nor had he improved his Mind by extensive Reading, in subsequent Years. Even after his Retreat from public Employment, in the decline of Life, when at Drayton, where he had a fine Library, he rarely opened an Author, except for a short Time on his Return from coursing, shooting, riding, or other favorite Exercises. He had visited Paris, when young, with his Father the Duke of Dorset; and the French language was familiar to him; but with Horace, Tacitus, or Cicero, he had formed little Acquaintance. His initiation into public Life, Politics, and Parliament, took place too early, to admit of storing his Mind with classic Images or Ideas. Though he was

versed in English History since the Time of Elizabeth, during which Period of near two Centuries, some one of his immediate Ancestors had almost always sat, and sometimes presided, in the Councils of the Sovereign, he was not conversant in our Annals of an earlier Date. But, on the other hand, he had witnessed much with his own Eyes, he had heard still more from others, he siezed with Ease on whatever was submitted to his Understanding, and he forgot nothing.

In Business he was rapid, yet clear and accurate; rather negligent in his Style, which was that of a Gentleman and a Man of the World, unstudied and frequently careless, even in his official Dispatches. But, there was no Obscurity or Ambiguity in his Compositions. Capable of Application, he nevertheless passed little Time at the Desk, or in the Closet: and while Secretary of State, under critical, as well as perilous Circumstances, when every Courier brought, or might bring, Accounts the most disastrous; no Man who saw him at Table, or of an Evening in his Drawing Room, would have suspected from his Deportment and Conversation, that the Responsibility of the

American War reposed principally on his Shoulders. More than one Member of the Cabinet was supposed to enjoy a greater degree of personal Acceptability with the King; but none exercised the Privilege of speaking with more freedom to him. Lord George seldom hazarded to ask Favours; but when he undertook any Cause, he never receded till he had obtained the Object. Dr. Eliot, who then practised Physic with some Celebrity, and of whose medical Skill Lord George entertained a high Opinion; induced him to exert his Interest at Court, for procuring the Doctor to be created a Baronet. The King, who disliked Eliot personally, and regarded his professional Talents with as little Partiality, displayed much Repugnance to grant the Request. Yielding however at last, "Well, my Lord," said he, "since "you desire it, let it be: but remember, "He shall not be my Physician." "No, "Sir," answered Lord George, bowing, "He shall be your Majesty's Baronet, and "my Physician." The King laughed, and Eliot was raised to the Baronetage.

In the House of Commons, down to the last Hour that Lord George remained a Member of

that Assembly, he was constantly the Object of the severest, and most pointed Attacks of the Opposition; who always hoped to force from his Irritability, the Secret or the Fact, which they had vainly attempted to extort from the Apathy and Tranquillity of Lord North. In this Endeavour they frequently succeeded: for, Lord George, goaded by Reproaches, often fictitious, frequently unjust, generally started up sooner or later; repelled the Charges advanced; and in so doing, sometimes put the Adversary in possession of the very Matter which they sought to discover. He spoke, as he wrote, without much Premeditation, from the impulse of the Occasion; in animated, rather than in correct Language; with Vehemence, but, not without Dignity. His Voice was powerful, and his Figure commanding; though he did not always thoroughly possess himself, nor display the Coolness demanded by so trying a Situation as that of American Secretary. His Opponents, who well knew, availed themselves of this Defect in his formation of Mind. On the other Hand, the Keenness of his Sight gave him a prodigious Advantage over Lord North, when in the House of Commons. Lord

George Germain had no sooner taken his Seat, than he pervaded with a Glance of his Eye, the Opposition Benches; saw who attended, as well as who were absent; and formed his Conclusions accordingly on the Business of the Day. He used to say, that for those who were enabled to exercise this Faculty, every Thing was to be *seen* in the House; where, on the contrary, nothing except Declamation, was to be gained by the *Ear*. No Man better understood the Management of Parliament; the Prolongation or Acceleration of a Debate, according to the Temper or the Number of the Members present; and every Detail of official Dexterity or Address, requisite in conducting Affairs submitted to a popular Assembly. To all these Arts of Government, he had served two long and severe Apprenticeships in Ireland, as Secretary to his Father, the Duke of Dorset, when successively Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. In political courage and firmness he was not deficient. I have seen him in circumstances which sufficiently put those qualities to the proof, towards the close of the American war, when intelligence arrived of Lord Corn-

wallis's surrender at York Town: a Disaster of the most irreparable nature, the load of which fell almost exclusively on himself.

While summing up Lord George's Character, it is so impossible not to think of the business at Minden, and consequently not to allude to it, that my silence on the subject, would seem to imply my conviction of the Justice of the Sentence passed on him by the Court Martial. On the other hand, I feel how delicate and invidious a matter it is, on which to touch, even at the distance of more than half a Century. Yet, as *personal*, and *political* Courage, though altogether dissimilar, are commonly considered to have an intimate connexion; as we are even with difficulty induced to allow, or duly to estimate any virtues, however eminent, in a man whom we suppose to have been deficient in the former of those essential qualities; as general prejudice is certainly in Lord George's disfavor, and as I may lay claim to some information on the subject; I shall enter briefly into the Disquisition.

I lay no stress on Lord George Germain's

illustrious Extraction, since we all know that the greatest Houses have produced the most degenerate descendants; instances of which in point have occurred in our own Times. Pope justly exclaims,

"What can ennoble Slaves, or Sots, or Cowards?
"Alas! Not all the Blood of all the Howards!"

It is, nevertheless, an incentive to noble Achievements, when we descend from those who have performed such actions. The memorable *Letter* of *Edward*, Earl of Dorset, describing his Duel with Lord Bruce, under the reign of James the First, commemorated in the "Guardian;" and the celebrated *Song*, beginning,

"To all you Ladies now on Land,
"We Men at Sea indite,"

which was composed by *Charles*, Earl of Dorset, Lord George's Grandfather, as we are assured, on the Night before the Engagement between the English fleet, and that of Holland, commanded by Opdam, under Charles the Second's reign: — these two Productions, which are as universally known as

the Language in which they are written, sufficiently attest that he drew his Lineage from men of Courage. His maternal Grandfather, Marshal Colyear, Brother of the first Earl of Portmore, and Governor of Namur, with whom Lord George passed much time in his youth; had grown grey in all the Sieges and Battles of the Low Countries, under William the Third. As soon as England took a part in the War occasioned by the Accession of Maria Theresa in 1743, Lord George was sent to the Continent; where he served, if not with marked distinction, certainly without the slightest reproach, under the Command of Lord Stair, and of His late Britannic Majesty. In 1745, at the Battle of Fontenoy, where a number of our Officers fell, he received a musket-ball in the breast, and was thrown upon a waggon, with many others. He had preserved the Uniform that he wore on that day, which I have seen and examined; bearing on it the mark of the Ball, corresponding to the place where he was struck, and other Holes in the Skirts of the Coat, perforated by Bullets. During the domestic Rebellion that followed the Defeat of Fontenoy, being recalled to his own country, he accompanied William, Duke of Cumberland, from the Com-

mencement, to the Close, of the Insurrection in Scotland; where great commendation was bestowed on his Services.

Among the Dorset Papers, which I have seen, were preserved a Series of Letters, addressed by him to the Duke his father, containing many interesting incidents of the years 1745 and 1746, while he was serving in the Highlands, against the Rebels. On the breaking out of the war in 1756, he accompanied the late Duke of Marlborough, on those desultory Expeditions to the Coast of Normandy and Brittany, when we bombarded St. Malo, and demolished Cherburgh. After the Demise of the Duke, which took place at Munster, towards the close of 1758, it is well known that Lord George commanded the British Forces during the ensuing Campaign, and in particular at the Battle of Minden. That he did not advance at the head of the Cavalry, on that Occasion, with the Celerity that might have been wished; and that his Delay is ever to be regretted on a *national* Account, because, if he had so advanced, the Defeat of the Enemy would have been much more complete; that consequently he became a just Subject of Blame or of Cen-

sure, if we judge by *the Result*, and not by *the Motive*; — all these Points must be conceded to his Accusers. But, the Question is, whether he manifested any such Backwardness to lead on the Horse, after he received Prince Ferdinand's Orders for that Purpose, as justly rendered him liable to the Suspicion of Reluctance, or to the Imputation of Cowardice?

The Depositions of Lieutenant Colonels Ligonier, Sloper, and Fitzroy, would certainly seem to affix on him, either one or the other of these Charges. But, the Evidence of Lieutenant Colonel Hotham, as well as the positive Testimony of Captains Lloyd and Smith, two of Lord George's Aid-du-Camps, appear as completely to exculpate him. There were even negative, if not positive Doubts, stated by Hotham and Smith, relative to the Accuracy, not to say the Truth or Existence, of the asserted Conversation held by Colonels Fitzroy and Ligonier with Lord George, when they successively delivered him Prince Ferdinand's Orders. Captain Smith, Sir Sidney Smith's Father, I very intimately knew; who was himself a Man of distinguished personal Courage,

strictly conscientious, and incapable of asserting any Thing that he disbelieved. He never entertained an Idea that Lord George was withheld by unbecoming personal Motives, from advancing at Minden. The Fact plainly appeared to be, even on the Testimony of Fitzroy, Sloper, and Ligonier, that either Prince Ferdinand's Orders were in themselves contradictory, or were misunderstood by the Aid-du-Camps, or were imperfectly delivered by them. Lord George displayed evident Irresolution under those Circumstances. He first halted, and afterwards did not cause the Cavalry to advance with the Rapidity that would have ensured the Enemy's entire Defeat. Probably, similar Accidents happen in almost every great Engagement. But, the World, which pardons the Excesses of intemperate Courage, never forgives the slightest Appearance of Backwardness in the Field. Prince Rupert, who three Times ruined the Affairs of Charles the First; who by his impetuous Valour, lost him the three Battles of Edge Hill, of Marston Moor, and of Naseby, is pardoned by Posterity: while Admiral Byng and Lord George Sackville remain under Imputation. Such will ever be the Lot of military Men

who venture to hold back, when they might go forward in Action.

It must nevertheless excite no small Surprize, that Prince Ferdinand, though he alludes in the General Orders issued on the Day following the Battle, to Lord George's supposed Misconduct; yet, in the first Dispatches sent to this Country, containing the Account of the Victory, made no public Mention whatever of it; and some Days elapsed, before the Prince preferred any formal Accusation against him. I have seen among the Dorset Papers, a Series of Lord George's Letters to his Father, written from the Allied Army, during that Campaign, extending to within very few Days of the Action at Minden. And I have likewise perused the Notes addressed to Lionel, Duke of Dorset, from the Foreign Office of the Secretary of State here, on the Arrival of the official Intelligence of the Engagement; felicitating the Duke on the Result of a Battle so glorious to this Country, and in which He must necessarily feel so deep a personal Interest. Not a Word, nor a Hint, appears in these Notes, of Lord George's supposed want of Alacrity. How are we to explain this line

of Conduct in the Prince? It would seem as if the Charge should have instantly followed the Act.

George the Second, it must be remembered, was at this Time near Seventy-six Years old; strongly prejudiced, as we well know, in favour of his Relative and Countryman, Prince Ferdinand; and naturally chagrined at an Event, which, even though it should have been publicly recognized as the mere effect of Misconception or Mistake in the Orders sent, yet equally afforded Subject for Regret, on account of its injurious consequences. Under these Circumstances the Court Martial took place, and the King's sentiments respecting Lord George's Culpability, were universally known throughout the Country. It is a fact, that His late Majesty sent him a Message, acquainting him of his own Determination to put into Execution the Sentence of the Court, whatever it might be, without Mitigation. Lord George was tried in March, 1760. Had the late King died in October, 1759, instead of October, 1760, might not the Result in all probability, have been far less severe under a new Reign, when the Clamour of the Hour had subsided?

In 1759 and 1760, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, occupied a high Place in the admiration of the English Public, by whom he was considered as only inferior in the Field, to *the Protestant Hero*, as he was then absurdly denominated, Frederic, King of Prussia. But his Popularity, I mean, Prince Ferdinand's, proved of very short duration. As early as January, 1761, we may see in "Dodington's Diary," how low the Prince had fallen in general Estimation, and what serious Accusations were brought against him. Dodington, relating the particulars of a Conversation which he had at that Time with the Earl of Bute, says, I told him, "that I thought Prince Ferdinand "was become as unpopular in the Army, as "he was once popular: that he was accused "of three great Heads of Malversation. "The first was, that he had exacted com-"plete Pay for uncomplete Corps: the se-"cond, that not One Shilling of all those "devastating Contributions, had been carried "to the Public Account: the third, that he "had received good Money, and had paid the "Troops in bad, to a very great Amount, "and at a great Discount." These Charges do not appear to have ever been refuted.

The precedent of Admiral Byng, shot very unjustly, on an Accusation of Cowardice, was recent. If the Members of the Military Tribunal who tried Lord George, believed that he had committed the same Crime as the one imputed to that unfortunate naval Commander, why did they not pass on him the same Sentence? There can be only one Answer. The Evidence brought forward, fell short of Proof; and under those Circumstances, they doubtless were not convinced that he merited Death. But, still, as the Prejudices, or prevailing Opinions of the Time, hardly admitted on the other Hand, of his Acquittal, they cashiered him. It is for Posterity to revise, perhaps to reverse, that Sentence. I have endeavoured fairly to state the leading Facts, on which they may found a Judgment.

Lord George's Duel with Governor Johnstone, is well known. On that Occasion, even by his Adversary's admission, he exhibited perfect Self-possession; presenting so fair and erect a Mark, while he, calmly waited for the Governor's fire, that it extorted from him an involuntary Testimony to Lord

George's courage. The late Lord Sydney, then Mr. Townsend, who was his Second, equally witnessed and attested his coolness. How can we believe or conceive, that such a Man, on such a Field as Minden, before so many Spectators, would, from personal Fear, have at once covered himself with Ignominy? As little is it proved, whatever we may suspect, that Motives of personal Animosity to Prince Ferdinand, with whom we know he was on bad terms, operated on Lord George's Mind, and impelled him to delay moving forward with the Cavalry, to complete the Victory. It is evident, on the calmest and most dispassionate Review of the Transaction, which has obtained such a melancholy celebrity in our Military Annals under George the Second; that an Ambiguity in Prince Ferdinand's Orders to Lord George, or a Contradiction in them, produced the whole Misfortune. We may indeed assert, or believe, that the British Commander intentionally misunderstood them. But, where was the Proof adduced of that Fact? Captain Ligonier brings an Order for *the whole* Cavalry to advance. Colonel Fitzroy, almost in the same Moment, orders only the *British* Cavalry to advance. On receiving these

opposite Messages, Lord George halts the Cavalry, while he gallops up to Prince Ferdinand, in order to receive his personal Instructions. There might be error in this Delay, and public Injury might accrue from it, as Prince Ferdinand asserts did actually ensue, when in his "General Orders" above alluded to, he says, that if "the Marquis of "Granby had been at the Head of the Ca-"valry of the Right Wing, he is persuaded, "the Decision of that Day would have been "more complete and more brilliant." Still, there is no proof of Lord George's voluntary Misconstruction of the Orders, or of his Reluctance to execute them; and the Error might have originated in Mistake, as well as in Volition. How easily would the whole Misfortune have been rendered impossible, if Prince Ferdinand had, like Prince Eugene of Savoy, whom he might have copied on this Point; only sent *one* of his successive Orders *in Pencil?* Prince Eugene expressly says in his "Memoirs," "I derived much "Benefit from always carrying in my Pocket "a Pencil, to write in the Officer's Memo-"randum Book, the Order which I gave him "to carry." Such was the constant Practice of that illustrious Commander, when in

the Field; a Practice peculiarly demanded in the Instance before us, if Prince Ferdinand thought that he had any reason to doubt Lord George's prompt and ready Obedience. I return from this Digression.

The Earl of Sandwich, who had presided during ten Years at the Head of the Admiralty, was universally admitted to possess eminent Talents, great application to the Duties of his Office, and long Acquaintance with public Business. A distinguished votary of Wit, Conviviality, and Pleasure; he had nevertheless been early initiated into political Life, and was sent by Mr. Pelham, then First Minister, as one of the Plenipotentiaries in 1748, at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In all his official Functions he displayed Perspicuity, as well as Dispatch. No naval Officer who stated his Demand to the First Lord of the Admiralty, with becoming brevity, ever waited for an Answer; and he was accustomed to say, "If any Man will draw up his "Case, and put his Name at the foot of the "first Page, I will give him an immediate "Reply. Where he compels me to turn "over the sheet, he must wait my Leisure." How laconically, yet forcibly he could write,

with what Conciseness and Severity blended, he exhibited in his memorable Note to Mr. Eden, afterwards created Lord Auckland. That Gentleman, when he quitted his political Friends in 1786, in order to join Mr. Pitt, who sent him over to Paris, for the purpose of negociating the Commercial Treaty; addressed a circular Letter to them, endeavouring to explain and to justify his Line of Conduct. Lord Sandwich, in answer to the Letter that he received on the Occasion, instantly wrote back these Words. "Sir, "your letter is before me, and it will pre- "sently be behind me. I remain, Sir, your "most humble Servant." Polite, accessible, and endowed with great natural Capacity, it might have been expected that he would acquire the public Favour, in no less a degree than he enjoyed the Confidence of his Sovereign. But, many Causes conduced to render him an object of popular Dislike or Disapprobation; some of which were personal, others political. At an early period of His Majesty's Reign, Wilkes and Churchill combined their Powers, in order to expose his Character to universal Condemnation. The former, in his "Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury," written from Paris, in October, 1764, de-

signates Lord Sandwich, as "the most aban-
"doned man of the Age:" while Churchill, in his Poem of the "Candidate," speaking of him, says,

"Search Earth, search Hell, the Devil cannot find,
"An Agent like *Lothario* to his Mind."

However unjust or exaggerated might be these accusations; yet we must own that the part he took in denouncing the "Essay on Woman," to the House of Peers, laid him open to the charge of breach of confidence; and attracted towards him the severest Animadversions of the Author, whose pen inflicted the most incurable wounds. Though he had already attained his sixty-second year, his licentious mode of life seemed more befitting a Minister of Charles the Second, than a confidential Servant of George the Third. His Fortune, which did not altogether correspond with his high rank, and habits of gratification or expence, was supposed to lay him open to seduction; or at least to render him capable of listening to propositions, that a more independant man might have disdained. His enemies, who were numerous and violent, maintained that even Official Appointments

were sometimes conferred under conditions not honorable to the First Lord of the Admiralty. Naval Commanders, sent to important Stations, on which great Emoluments might be naturally expected to arise from Captures, were asserted to have a fellow feeling with their Patron, and even to divide with him a certain Proportion of their Acquisitions. However improbable or unproved were these assertions, which doubtless originated in party malevolence; yet, as Names and minute Particulars were added or invented, they obtained general credit, and made a deep impression. All the eloquence of Fox in one House of Parliament, and all the laborious pertinacity of the Duke of Richmond in the other, had been employed during successive Sessions, not without effect, in impressing the public mind with unfavourable sentiments towards him. Palliser was represented as the object of his partiality; Keppel, as the victim of his persecution. During the Riots of the preceding Summer, in June, 1780, he had been marked out by the Mob, as a sacrifice, and narrowly escaped the effects of their blind animosity.

With consummate ability Lord Sandwich had constructed a species of Citadel within

the Ministerial Trenches, which acknowledged hardly any other Commander or Comptroller than himself. The India House constituted this Fortress, of which he was supposed to possess the secret Keys. Many of the leading Directors, among whom were the two Chairmen, looked for Orders, as it was commonly believed, not so much to Lord North, as to the First Lord of the Admiralty. The influence conferred by such a source of power, at a time when the East India Board of Controul had no existence, cannot easily be estimated. He was not wanting in endeavours to sustain it by every possible means; and well aware of its importance, he contrived to distribute among his chief Adherents in Leadenhall Street, some of the minor Honours of the Crown. On all great occasions, when the concealed Springs of that complicated Machine, denominated the East India Company, were necessary to be touched, application was made to Lord Sandwich. Even the intimations sent from the Treasury, often remained inefficient, till confirmed by him; and when the First Minister, towards the close of the year 1780, was prevailed on to recommend Lord Macartney for Governor of Madras, as Successor to Rumbold, he found

that no serious attention was paid to his wishes, before the Admiralty lent its co-operation. So vast a field of exclusive patronage and favour, rendered its possessor not only independent of his Colleagues in the Cabinet, but formidable to them; and he might justly be accounted one of the most powerful, as he was certainly one of the most able, Members of the Administration.

With Lord Amherst I was well acquainted. In his person he was tall and thin, with an aquiline nose, and an intelligent countenance. As Commander-in-Chief, or to speak more accurately, as commanding-in-Chief the Forces, he enjoyed a place in the Cabinet. To Lionel, Duke of Dorset, he owed his first entrance into the Army. From the situation of a private Gentleman, descended of a good Kentish family, but of very slender fortune; his military talents, and his success in America, had deservedly elevated him to the British Peerage. Selected by the discerning eye of the Earl of Chatham, he had been sent out as the Companion of *Wolfe*, whose brilliant Conquest of Quebec, was confirmed by Amherst's subsequent Reduction of Montreal and Upper Canada. Under the Shade of these Laurels, so

honourably earned, which had likewise been remunerated with the Order of *the Bath*, he seemed to challenge the National esteem, not to say their gratitude. Individually, he possessed both: but, in his Official character, at the Head of the Army, he did not escape censure on various points, materially affecting the Discipline and the Honour of the Service. Not that I would be understood to say of Lord Amherst, what "Junius" asserts of the Marquis of Granby, in his first memorable Letter, dated 21st January, 1769: a Letter, which, fortunately for "Junius," induced Sir William Draper to become Lord Granby's Defender, and thus attracted public notice towards the Production. He there charges that Nobleman with "degrading the "Office of Commander-in-Chief, into a Bro-"ker of Commissions." But, though Lord Amherst was not liable to such an imputation, yet, neither he, nor any subject, except one nearly allied to the Throne, is raised by Birth and Situation, sufficiently above the Crowd of Petitioners who assail him in his Military capacity, to set at defiance private clamour, menaces, and importunity.

As a Member of the Administration, no abi-

lity, however recognized or transcendent, and no past services, however eminent, could have secured the public favour, to Lord Amherst, in the midst of a War such as that carried on against America, marked by ill success, and now become almost hopeless in its prospective objects. The constitutional tranquillity of his temper, secured him however from being ruffled at any indications of popular dissatisfaction. I have scarcely ever known a man who possessed more stoical Apathy, or command over himself. Naturally taciturn and reserved, he rarely disclosed his sentiments on any subject of a political nature. Even at the Cabinet Dinners, which were held weekly, I have heard Lord Sackville say, that though he usually gave his decided affirmative or negative to the specific Measure proposed, yet he always did it in few words, often by a Monosyllable: but never could without great difficulty be induced to assign the reasons, or to state the grounds of his opinion. His judgment was sound, and his understanding solid; but, neither cultivated by Education, nor expanded by elegant knowledge. From the sense entertained of his early Services beyond the Atlantic, he would have attracted universal respect, if the Official

and Ministerial Posts which he occupied, had not counterbalanced the operation of those resplendent Services on the public mind.

Lord Thurlow, who at this time had held the Great Seal between two and three years, though in point of age the Youngest Member of the Cabinet, enjoyed in many respects greater consideration than almost any other individual composing it. He had been indebted in his youth, to the indefatigable exertions and importunities of the celebrated Duchess of Queensbury, the friend of Gay, Pope, and Swift, for first procuring him from Lord Bute a Silk Gown, to which distinction he long ineffectually aspired. His talents had subsequently excited Admiration in both Houses of Parliament, not less than at the Bar; while he sat in the House of Commons, as Attorney General, during more than seven years, from 1771 to 1778.

Lord North derived the greatest assistance from his eloquence and ability. His removal to the House of Peers, would even have left an awful blank on the Treasury Bench in the midst of the American War, if his place had not, during the two succeeding years, been

ably, perhaps fully supplied by Wedderburn. As Speaker of the Upper House, Lord Thurlow fulfilled all the expectations previously entertained of him. His very person, figure, voice, and manner, were formed to lend dignity to the Woolsack. Of a dark complexion, and harsh, but regular features; with a severe and commanding demeanour, which might be sometimes denominated stern; he impressed his Auditors with awe, before he opened his lips. Energy, acuteness, and prodigious powers of argument, characterized him in Debate. His comprehensive mind enabled him to embrace the question under discussion, whatever it might be, in all its bearings and relations. Nor, if we except Lord Camden, who was already far advanced in life, did the Opposition possess any legal talents in the House of Peers, that could be justly put in competition with those of Lord Thurlow.

These admirable parts were nevertheless by no means unaccompanied with corresponding defects. As Lord Chancellor, he was accused of Procrastination, in suffering the causes brought before him in his Court, to accumulate without end. Perhaps, this charge, so frequently made against those who have held the Great Seal, was not however more

true, as applied to him, than of others who succeeded to his Office. But, even in Parliament, his temper, morose, sullen, and intractable, sometimes mastering his reason, prevented him from always exerting the faculties with which nature had endowed him; or at least clouded and obscured their effect. In the Cabinet, these defects of character, which rendered him often impracticable, were not to be surmounted by any efforts or remonstrances. It can hardly be believed that at the Ministerial Dinners, where, after the cloth was removed, Measures of State were often discussed or agitated; Lord Thurlow would frequently refuse to take any part. He has even more than once left his Colleagues to deliberate, while he sullenly stretched himself along the chairs, and fell, or appeared to fall, fast asleep. If I had not received this fact from an eye witness, and a Member of that Cabinet, I should not indeed venture to report so improbable a circumstance.

Notwithstanding the ruggedness and asperity which he displayed; qualities that procured him the Nick-name of *the Tiger;* no man could at times appear more pleasing,

affable, and communicative in conversation. I have once or twice seen him on such occasions, which were more highly valued, because they were rare or unexpected. During the period of his youth, he had led a dissolute life; and had given proofs of his devotion to pleasures, scarcely compatible, as it might have been thought, with the severe Studies and Profession of the Law. To these Irregularities, the Duchess of Kingston imprudently ventured to allude, while on her trial at the Bar of the House of Lords, when Thurlow was Attorney General. Like Henley, Earl of Northington, his Predecessor in the high office of Chancellor, Thurlow mingled Oaths and Execrations with his common Discourse. In the afternoon of life, conviviality, wine, and society, unbent his mind. It was with Mr. Rigby, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, Mr. Dundas, and a few other select friends, that he threw off his Constitutional severity. At the Pay Office in Whitehall, where Rigby then resided, Lord Thurlow forgot the double toils annexed to his situation, as Head of the Law, and as Minister of State. Possessed of faculties so transcendent, however mingled with human weakness and infirmity, he must always be considered as one

of the most distinguished individuals who has sat in the Councils of George the Third, at any period of his reign.

We descend now to the less efficient Members of the Cabinet. Lord Bathurst, who had been at this time President of the Council, ever since the Resignation of Lord Gower, in the Autumn of 1779, was son to the celebrated Allen Bathurst, created a Peer by Queen Anne, in 1711; and who might, at the time of his decease, be considered as the last of the great Knot of Wits and Men of Genius, that rendered in some measure illustrious, the short, as well as inglorious Ministry, of Oxford and Bolingbroke. It is to him that Pope addresses the "Third Epistle of his "Moral Essays;" to him, in Conjunction with Lord Burlington, the famous Architect, that he alludes, when he says,

"Who then shall grace, or who improve the Soil?
"Who plants like *Bathurst*, or who builds like *Boyle*?"

He lived to an almost patriarchal age, in the possession of nearly all the faculties of his body and mind; passing the greater part of the evening of his life, amidst those Woods,

and in those Shades which he had reared, immortalized by *Pope*, at Oakley Grove in Glocestershire; enjoying the rare felicity to see his son hold the Great Seal of England. I believe he died in 1775; having by a singular destiny which perhaps has no parallel in our History, outlived more than sixty years, the Princess who raised him to the Peerage.

His son may probably be considered as the least able Lawyer to whom the Great Seal of this Country was confided, in the course of the eighteenth Century. For Lord King, who became Chancellor under George the First, though he survived his faculties, and is said to have drivelled on the Bench, originally displayed eminent parts; which deservedly raised him from an obscure origin, his father having been a Bookseller at Exeter, to that great legal Dignity. Yet, Lord Bathurst held his Office during seven or eight years; and I have been assured that his Decrees, while at the Head of the Court of Chancery, were in general regarded by the Bar, as wise, just, and unexceptionable. He was, of all the Members of the Cabinet, the most advanced in age; nor could he, like his father, boast of exemption from the infirmities usually attendant on

that period of life. A degree of Caducity was visible in his frame, and even his mind did not appear to be wholly exempt from Decay. In Parliament, his Talents were rarely exerted; but his unsullied Character, and moral Qualities, entitled him to universal Respect.

The Earl of Dartmouth, as Lord Privy Seal, in right of his Office filled a Seat in the Cabinet. His near Affinity to Lord North, and that circumstance alone, placed him ostensibly in Administration; Lord Dartmouth's Mother having married, after her first husband's Decease, the Earl of Guilford. In his public Character, whether, in or out of Parliament, he excited little or no share of general Attention.

The Secretary at War, on the contrary, though possessing no place in the Cabinet, constituted an Object of universal Consideration, and attracted all Eyes towards him. Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since created Earl of Liverpool occupied in 1781, that Employment. Few persons in the course of this long and eventful Reign, have played so important a Part behind the Curtain of State. Still fewer Individuals have attained to such

Eminence, personal as well as political, unaided by the advantages of high Birth, or of natural Connexions. Descended from a very respectable Family, that had been raised to the Baronetage by Charles the Second in 1661, his paternal Fortune was nevertheless of the most limited Description, when he commenced his career. But, his Talents soon dispersed the Clouds that attended the morning of his Life. They recommended him to Lord Bute, then at the Head of the Treasury, who made Mr. Jenkinson his private Secretary; and through that Nobleman he became personally known to the Sovereign. When Lord Bute withdrew in 1763, from the post of First Minister, Mr. Jenkinson still continued to occupy the same confidential employment under his Successor, George Grenville; nor was he displaced till Lord Rockingham came into power, when Burke succeeded him in that situation. Those who supposed, or asserted, that a secret Communication was still maintained between Lord Bute and the King; as well as all those who chose to consider Lord Bute as the efficient, though concealed, Mover of the machine of Government; accused Mr. Jenkinson of forming the confidential

Medium, through which that Intercourse was principally maintained. So delicate a Trust, if we assume its Existence, necessarily exposed him to popular Clamour, as being equally unconstitutional in itself, and dangerous to the liberties of the British People. But, in proportion to the Obloquy that such an Imputation excited, was the respect that it attracted.

As Lord Bute gradually retired into the shade of private Life, and became insensibly forgotten, Mr. Jenkinson proportionably came forward in his own person, and on his own proper Merits. Throughout the whole period of Lord North's Administration, from 1770 down to 1782, his Intercourse with the King, and even his Influence over the Royal Mind, were assumed to be constant, progressive, commensurate with, and sometimes paramount to, or subversive of, the Measures proposed by the First Minister. However difficult of proof such Assertions were, and however contrary, as I believe, they were to Truth or Fact, they did not operate the less forcibly on the Bulk of the Nation, and were not less eagerly credited by Men of all Parties. No Denials on the part of Persons in power, could erase

the impression, which Newspapers and Pamphlets industriously circulated through the Kingdom. In the House of Commons, where their Operation was widely felt; the Speakers in Opposition continually affected to consider Lord North, together with the whole Cabinet, as played on by unseen Agents, who alone possessed the Secret of State, and the real confidence of the Crown. They did not scruple even to designate Mr. Jenkinson as the Depositary of this mysterious and undefined influence; if not exclusively, yet in an eminent Degree. Of course, whenever he rose to speak, all Attention was absorbed by him, as being the supposed Oracle who knew, and might promulgate, those hidden Truths of State, in which Ministers themselves, it was pretended, were not always allowed to participate, and of which he constituted the only certain channel.

At this Time he was about Fifty-four Years of age, and in his person he rose above the common height. The expression of his Countenance, I find it difficult to describe, as without having in his Face any Lines strongly marked, it was not destitute of deep intelligence. Reflection and Caution seemed to

be stamped on every feature; while his Eyes were usually, even in Conversation, directed downwards towards the earth. Something impervious and inscrutable seemed to accompany and to characterize his demeanour, which awakened Curiosity, while it repressed Enquiry. His Enemies asserted, that he resembled a dark Lanthorn; and as much as the human figure or physiognomy can ever be supposed to offer such a strange Similarity, unquestionably it existed in him. Even the twinkling Motion of his Eyelids, which he half closed from time to time in speaking, made the Allusion, however fanciful, more close and striking. His manners were polite, calm, and unassuming; grave, if not cold; but not distant, without any mixture of Pride or Affectation. In society, though reserved, he was not silent; and though guarded on certain Topics, communicative on ordinary Subjects. He always appeared as if desirous to disclaim, and to reject the Consideration, which he involuntarily attracted. It was not difficult, on a short Acquaintance, to discover that he had read Men, more than Books; and that his Education had been of an inferior, as well as limited kind. He neither manifested the elegant Information

acquired by visiting foreign Countries, nor the classic Ideas and Images, derived from a Familiarity with the Productions of Antiquity. Even his knowledge of modern History, was rather financial and commercial, than general or critical. But, in Recompence for these Deficiencies, he possessed more useful and solid Attainments, calculated to raise their Possessor in Life.

No Man in official situation, was supposed to understand better the principles of Trade, Navigation, Manufactures, and Revenue. He had written and published on those Subjects, in a Manner that sufficiently proved his profound Acquaintance with them. Supple, patient, mild, laborious, persevering, attentive to improve the favourable Occasions which presented themselves, and always cool, he never lost the Ground that he had once gained. As a Speaker in the House of Commons, he rose seldom, unless called out by particular Circumstances; nor, when on his legs, did he ever weary the Patience of his Auditors. No ray of Wit, Humour, or Levity, pervaded his Speeches. He neither introduced into them Metaphors, Digressions, nor Citations. All was Fact and Business. His language

had nothing in it animated or elevated. Scarcely was it, indeed, always correct, or exempt from some little Inelegances of Diction. But it never was defective in the Essentials of Perspicuity, Brevity, and thorough Information. He used to remind me of a Man crossing a Torrent on Stones; and so carefully did he place his Foot at every Step, as never once to wet his Shoe. I have seen him, before a crowded House, acquit himself with wonderful Dexterity, while Secretary at War, when officially addressing Parliament. Such Qualifications, even independent of the supposed Favor of the Sovereign, necessarily rendered him an Object of Respect and of Attention to every Party.

Rigby, sole Paymaster of the Forces, occupied scarcely an inferior Place to Jenkinson, in the public Estimation. As if he had meant to shew, that he acted independently of Ministers, he never sat on the Government side of the House; but he did not on that Account give the less unqualified Support to Administration. When in his Place, he was invariably habited in a full dressed suit of Cloaths, commonly, of a purple or dark colour, without Lace or Embroidery, close buttoned,

with his Sword thrust through the pocket. His Countenance was very expressive, but not of Genius; still less did it indicate Timidity or Modesty. All the Comforts of the Pay-Office seemed to be eloquently depictured in it; and the "*Lumen purpureum*" which beamed from his Features, served as a Comment on the Text of "Junius," when he panegyrizes the Duke of Bedford's solitary Protection of "blushing Merit" in Mr. Rigby's person. His manner, rough, yet frank, bold, but manly, admirably set off whatever sentiments he uttered in Parliament. Like Jenkinson, he borrowed neither from antient, nor from modern Authors. His Eloquence was altogether his own, simple, strong, and natural; addressed, not to the Fancy, but to the plain Comprehension of his Hearers. Whatever he meant, he expressed indeed without Circumlocution, or Declamation. There was a happy Audacity about his Forehead, which must have been the gift of Nature: Art could never attain to it by any Efforts. He seemed neither to fear, nor even to respect the House, whose composition he well knew; and to the Members of which Assembly, he never appeared to give Credit for any portion of Virtue, Patriotism, or Public Spirit. Far from

concealing these Sentiments, he insinuated, or even pronounced them, without Disguise; and from *his* Lips they neither excited surprize, nor even commonly awakened Reprehension.

If Jenkinson might be esteemed the secret Oracle, to whom all those Men denominated *the King's Friends*, constantly looked for direction in difficult Cases, such as occasionally arose; Rigby was the avowed Standard round which they rallied. Their Numbers were considerable, though differently reported; and they were supposed by no Means to take their Directions implicitly on all Occasions, from the Treasury. "Junius" treats them with his accustomed Severity. "Ministers," says he, when speaking of Parliament, "are no longer the public Ser-
"vants of the State, but the private Do-
"mestics of the Sovereign. One particular
"Class of Men are permitted to call them-
"selves *the King's Friends*, as if the body of
"the People were the King's enemies: or
"as if His Majesty looked for a Resource or
"Consolation in the Attachment of a few
"Favourites, against the general Contempt
"and Detestation of his Subjects. Edward

" and Richard the Second, made the same " Distinction between the collective Body of " the People, and a contemptible Party who " surrounded the Throne." As they grew up and encreased with the American War, so with its Termination, they seemed to become extinct. After Pitt's victory over " the Co- " alition," and the Convocation of a new Parliament in 1784, the King's Friends were found in every part of the House of Commons. But, it was not so in 1781, under Lord North, when Jenkinson and Rigby were supposed, however erroneously, to be more in the real Secret of the Crown, than the First Minister himself. A very select Party usually adjourned to the Pay Office, after late Evenings in the House of Commons, where the good Cheer and the Claret, obliterated all painful Recollections connected with public Affairs.

The post of Treasurer of the Navy was occupied by Mr. Welbore Ellis, whom we have since seen, after ostensibly filling the Office of Colonial Secretary of State, for a few Weeks, on the Resignation of Lord George Germain, raised in the Winter of Life, by Mr. Pitt, like so many other in-

dividuals, to the rank of a British Peer. He might be considered as the *Nestor* of the Ministry, and of the House of Commons. In his Figure, Manner, and Deportment, the very essence of Form, he regularly took his place on the Treasury Bench, dressed in all Points as if he had been going to the Drawing Room at St. James's. His Eloquence was of the same description as himself, precise, grave, and constrained; unilluminated by Taste, and calculated to convince, more than to exhilarate, or electrify his Audience. The respect due to his age, character, and employment, rather than the force or novelty of his arguments, commonly secured him a patient hearing; but he was neither listened to with Enthusiasm, nor regretted, when he ceased to exert his abilities in support of the Measures of Administration.

The Attorney General, Wallace, as well as Mansfield, Solicitor General, were men of acknowledged talents, Parliamentary, no less than Professional. But it might be esteemed in some degree their misfortune, that having recently succeeded two persons so eminent as Thurlow and Wedderburn, the House could not avoid judging of them more by compari-

son with their predecessors, than by their own intrinsic merit. Both the Attorney and Solicitor General were moreover obscured in the superior Energy that characterized Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and since created Viscount Melville. His figure tall, manly, and advantageous; his Countenance, open, cheerful, and expressive, prejudiced in his favor. Neither the Scotticisms with which his Speeches abounded, nor an Accent peculiarly Northern, as well as uncouth, could prevent his assuming and maintaining that place in the Ministerial ranks, to which his pre-eminent parts entitled him. These very defects of Elocution or of Diction, by the ludicrous effect that they produced, became often converted into advantages; as they unavoidably operated to force a smile from his bitterest Opponents, and chequered with momentary good humor, the Personalities of Debate. The apparent frankness of his manner, which formed a striking contrast with Jenkinson, conciliated or disarmed in some measure those, whose political opinions were most adverse to Government. Never did any man conceal deeper views of every kind, under the appearance of careless inattention to self-in-

terest. In him was exemplified the remark, that "*Ars est celare Artem;*" and the seeming want of caution or artifice in his ordinary intercourse, capacitated him for contending successfully with men of more habitual reserve. His voice, strong and sonorous, enabled him to surmount the noise of a popular Assembly, and almost to command attention, at moments of the greatest clamor or impatience. Far from shunning the post of danger, he always seemed to court it; and was never deterred from stepping forward to the assistance of Ministers, by the violence of Opposition, by the Unpopularity of the Measure to be defended, or by the Difficulty of the Attempt. His Speeches, able, animated, and argumentative, were delivered without Hesitation, and unembarrassed by any Timidity. If they displayed no Ornaments of Style, and no Beauties of Composition, it was impossible to accuse them of any Deficiency in sterling Sense, or in solid Ability. He was, indeed, without excepting Lord George Germain himself, the most powerful Auxiliary whom Lord North could boast of possessing in the Lower House. Though elevated in the Trammels of Scotch Jurisprudence, and long accustomed to plead at the

Bar of that Country; his Mind, which disdained so confined a Sphere of Action, propelled him to try his Force on a greater Theatre. Animated by this Resolution, he quitted the Study of Law, for the career of Politics; and in Defiance of every Impediment, ventured to seek Fortune in an English House of Commons. Conscious of his own intellectual Powers, and guided by a profound, but well-regulated Ambition, he already aspired to Offices and Situations, seemingly beyond the Pale of his legal Profession. India, he thought, and wisely thought, opened to him a Field worthy of his talents; and the state of Danger, as well as of Disorder, into which those extensive Dominions had been thrown, by the Mismanagement or Incapacity of the East-India Company's Servants, particularly on the coast of Coromandel, necessarily brought their Affairs under Parliamentary Discussion. The Occasion was favourable, and he availed himself of it with Promptitude and Decision. Placed soon afterwards at the Head of a Secret Committee, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War existing in the Carnatic; he there laid the Foundation of the Power which we have since seen him exer-

cise as a Minister of that Department, under the Administration of Mr. Pitt, during many successive Years. Expensive from natural Character, always blending Conviviality with Business, and regardless of Money, except as constituting the Source of Enjoyment; he never failed to form one of the festive Party which met at the Pay-Office. Closely connected in Politics, no less than by Habits of Life and private Friendship, with Rigby; they might be said to act indeed, in secret Unison, and to lend each other a mutual Assistance on every Occasion.

The two Secretaries of the Treasury occupied a very different place in the scale of Ministerial importance, under Lord North's Administration. Sir Grey Cooper was confined to the mere Official duties of his Post; but Robinson might be considered as one of the most essential Functionaries of the Executive Government. I knew him intimately, both in, and out of Office. A Native of the County of Westmoreland, descended from an obscure family, and unadorned with any accomplishments of Education, he nevertheless displayed many qualifications that fitted him admirably for his situation. He possessed solid judg-

ment, combined with unaffected and conciliating manners; was capable of great application, and by no means wanted decision.

On him devolved that delicate and most important Department, then known by the denomination of *The Management of the House of Commons:* a Branch of Administration unfortunately interwoven with, and inseparable from, the Genius of the British Constitution; perhaps, of every Form of Government in which Democracy, or popular Representation, makes an essential part. Towards the close of an unfortunate War, when the Ministry was threatened with annual, or almost monthly Dissolution, and when a numerous Opposition acquired strength, in proportion to the National misfortunes; this management required unceasing vigilance. Robinson was the Depository of the "*Livre rouge*," where were supposed, or asserted to be contained, the Names of those Members of one, if not of both Houses of Parliament, who were retained by, and devoted to, the Administration. But, it was not only in the secret Arrangements of Official Business, that he manifested dexterity and energy of Character. He more than once exercised with equal ability and

effect, the Functions of higher Offices of State. It was he, who, on the Refusal of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary for the Southern Department; counter-signed the Secret Orders, which were sent out to Madras, on the 14th of April, 1778, by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, authorizing the immediate Attack of Pondicherry. To the manly decision of this timely Measure, embraced by Lord North at a moment when the war with France, though inevitable and impending, was not actually commenced; we owed the Capture of that important Settlement, the chief Establishment of the Enemy on the Coromandel Coast, which gave us an Ascendant over the French, during the whole future course of Hostilities in India.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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